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ABSTRACT

Section B of the Journalism and Media History section of the proceedings contains the following 14 papers: "Rethinking the Questions: An Essay on Writing Journalism History from a Feminist Perspective" (Agnes Hooper Gottlieb); "International Standards for Journalists: The Activities of the Press Congress of the World, 1921-26" (Ulf Jonas Bjork); "The Old and the New in Photojournalism History" (Charles Lewis); "An Exemplary Lady of the Press: Ishbel Ross Engenders a Bill of Rights for Newspaperwomen on the Male-Dominated City Desk of the 1920s" (Beverly G. Merrick); "Conflicting Advice: Parents, the Popular Press and the Comic Book Controversy, 1948-1954" (Amy Kiste Nyberg); "'May the Good News Be Yours': Ralph Renick & Florida's First TV News (WTVJ, Miami, 1949-1957)" (S. L. Alexander); "'Close and Objective Decisions:' The Discourse of Documentary Professionalism at the Major Networks, 1955-65" (Michael Curtin); "Emerging Voices: The Multi-Leveled Process of Public Opinion in the Montgomery Bus Boycott" (Frank Durham); "The Sta-Shine Case, 1931-1932: A Neglected Chapter in the Evolution of U.S. Broadcast Regulatory Doctrines" (Andrew Feldman); "From 'System' to 'Culture': Histories of Public Communication, and the Unfinished Agenda" (James F. Hamilton); "A History of Public Opinion Polls in the Mass Media" (Kevin L. Keenan); "Who Said Lee de Forest Was the 'Father of Radio'?" (Stephen L. W. Greene); "The Foreign-Language Press in America: A Historiographic Analysis" (Catherine Cassara); and "Songs My People Sang: Canadian Victorian Labour Journalism and the Oral Tradition" (David Ralph Spencer). (PRA)

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Rethinking the Questions:
An Essay on Writing Journalism History from a Feminist Perspective

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Presented to the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Commission on the Status of Women,
Annual Convention, Boston, August 1991

When Paul Winchester wrote Newspapers and Newspaper Men of Maryland in 1905, he wasn't kidding. His book chronicled all the fellas who were part of that state's old boy network, but didn't mention even one of the women journalists who had made significant contributions to the newspapers of Maryland.[1] It wasn't much better 32 years later when H.L. Mencken and friends wrote The Sunpapers of Baltimore, which was dedicated "to the memory of all the Old Sun men." May Garrettson Evans, the Baltimore Sun's first woman journalist, was the only woman mentioned and she was relegated to a footnote.[2]

Yet, from the very early days of newspaper publishing, women were involved. By excluding their involvement in histories of the profession, it promulgates a "belief that anatomy is destiny, in short, sexism...makes for distorted and misleading historical interpretation."[3] To exclude women from the annals of journalism history is to indicate by omission that their contributions were insignificant.

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[1] Paul Winchester, Newspapers and Newspaper Men of Maryland, (Baltimore: F.L. Sibley & Co., 1905).

[2] Gerald W. Johnson, Frank R. Kent, H.L. Mencken, and Hamilton Owens. The Sunpapers of Baltimore, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937).

[3] Linda Gordon, Persis Hunt, Elizabeth Pleck, Marcia Scott and Rochelle Ziegler. "A Review of Sexism in American Historical Writing," Women's Studies 1 (1972): 133-158, p. 134.

Granted, since the time of Winchester and Mencken, things have improved for women both in journalism and in the history of the profession. It's not surprising that the increased writing in women's history has coincided with an increase in the ranks of women historians.[4] Most of feminist history in journalism is being written by women. Traditionally, however, the history of journalism has been "recorded and interpreted primarily in terms of the perceptions of half the American population -- those of men."[5]

This is a dangerous possibility, indeed. Consider, for example, the 1963 treatment of the nineteenth-century journalist Jane Cunningham Croly by Henry Ladd Smith. The thrust of Smith's argument was evident by the title: "The Beauteous Jennie June: Pioneer Woman Journalist," as if how she looked could have some effect on her journalistic writing. The article exemplified sexism in historical writing, especially rampant in the days before the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and typified the pervading male attitude toward women. Smith explained, for example, that Croly established the first women's club in America, lectured and travelled extensively. "All very fine, but could she cook? Indeed she could," the historian wrote. In fact, Smith noted that Croly was a "very feminine woman, which is more than could be said of some of her sister feminists."[6] The fact that writing such as this was not only accepted but published in the most important academic journal for the field, Journalism Quarterly, should give feminists pause.

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[4] Susan Henry, "Colonial Woman Printer as Prototype: Toward a Model for the Study of Minorities," Journalism History 3 (Spring 1976), 20.

[5] Catherine L. Covert, "Journalism HIstory and Women's Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change," unpublished paper presented at the AEJ annual convention, Lansing, Mich., August, 1981, quote on p. 1.

That was nearly 30 years ago, but journalism history still wants for an overarching "philosophy of equality," which has been described as the key to the acceptance of feminist thought in the media.[7] A major stumbling block to a more in-depth approach is that most of journalism history is written by journalists who suffer from "city desk mentality." The focus is narrative, not conceptual.[8] Another problem that occurs when former journalists write history is that the years of objectivity make the task of analyzing and interpreting a difficult one.

From the feminist viewpoint, some work already has been done about women in the workplace in the past and the present. Histories of major newspapers, however, tend to ignore the women on staff, the women in the papers and the women's page. Or, these histories follow the "upholstery approach" to history writing. As described by sociologist Marcia Westcott, when a "couch," or discipline, seems shabby because of new research that reflects news trends, the "upholstery" solution is to cover the problem with new fabric, similar to the old but with a few strands of new fiber. The "comfortable" old framework remains the same.[9]

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[6] Henry Ladd Smith, "The Beauteous Jennie June: Pioneer Woman Journalist," Journalism Quarterly 40 (1963): 169-174.

[7] Maurine H. Beasley, "Application of Feminist Thought to Journalism Education: A Descriptive Analysis," unpublished paper presented at the AEJMC annual convention, Norman, Okla., August 1986, p. 21.

[8] Catherine L. Covert, "Some Thoughts on Research," Journalism History 1:1 (Spring 1974): 32.

Most of journalism history that has been rewritten in the decades since the women's movement took hold in the 1960s falls into this upholstery approach. Mass media receives prominent display while minority journalists and minority newspapers receive token attention.

Specifically, journalism history has been under fire for nearly two decades now because of its tradition-bound approach. Probably the most scathing indictment was leveled in 1974 by journalism historian James W. Carey, who criticized the reliance on what Herbert Butterfield first described as the Whig interpretation of history.[10] From this perspective, progress is linked with history. In other words, journalism history is viewed as "the slow, steady expansion of freedom and knowledge from the political press to the commercial press, the setbacks into sensationalism and yellow journalism, the forward thrust into muckraking and social responsibility." Carey argued, however, that the problem with this Whig paradigm was that "it is exhausted...One more history written against the background of the whig interpretation would not be wrong--just redundant."[11] Carey suggested that the field was ripe for the pursuit of cultural history which would move away from the narrative story that journalists are so fond of toward answering the question why things happen.

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[9] Zena Beth McGlashen, "Ways of Seeing Women: Challenging Journalism's Past," unpublished paper presented to the International Communication Association convention, Chicago, May 1986.

[10] James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," Journalism History 1:1 (Spring 1974): 3-4.

Joseph P. McKerns, writing three years after Carey, suggested that the field of journalism history was in a "paradigm crisis" because historians were clinging to the Progressive interpretation of American journalism, that is, the class struggle between good and evil. From this perspective, McKerns argued that it was imperative that journalism historians begin studying "the dominant ideas in society, and to the journalistic purveyors and conveyors of those ideas, within the context of the times."[12] Michael Schudson's Discovering the News did this about the notion of objectivity. The field is still waiting for someone to tackle similar ideas from a feminist perspective.

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[11] Ibid, 4.

[12] Joseph P. McKerns, "The Limits of Progressive Journalism History," Journalism History 4:3 (Autumn 1977): 91.

Yet, women have been included in some journalistic history writing since the days of Winchester and Mencken. One way to weigh whether journalism history reflects the feminist perspective is to superimpose historian Gerda Lerner's study of traditional history's treatment of women on the journalistic experience.[13] Lerner claimed that historians approach women's history on several levels. The first, she argued, was the history of "women worthies," also dubbed compensatory history. At this level, the historian asks what women have been left out of history, who the important women of the period were and what were their achievements.

Of course, the flaw in this approach is that, like the "Great Man" approach of so much of American history, this history focuses on the deeds of individuals who were by definition deviant from the norm. Most of journalism history that has focused on women would fall into this category. Marion Marzolf's Up From the Footnote mostly focuses on filling in the gaps with important women journalists. Madelon Golden Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy's Great Women of the Press exclusively focused on women notables in journalism who had been excluded from traditional texts. While this might not be feminist history on the deepest level, it is nonetheless an important task to fill in the missing women from journalism history. Considering the fact that so many women today are entering journalism as a profession, it is important that journalism historians pass on to these future generations of professional appropriate role models to pattern their careers. University professors have lamented this lack of women role models for their students because so many instructors are men;[14] a history course that delves into some of the important women in the field, while in no way replacing the need for women instructors, could at least inspire some of the women students. The introduction to Schilpp and Murphy's Great Women stated the argument nicely when it noted:

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[13] Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges," Feminist Studies 3 (1975-76): 5-14.

> Now it may be true that some of the women presented in this volume are only supernumeraries on the broader stage of a general history of American journalism (footnotes if you will); yet the fact remains, each in some way was unique in the sense that she played a role distinctive for her time and her place. Without exception each broke newground in one area of journalism or another. So many of them are important because they did their work well while at the same time opening doors previously closed to persons of their gender.[15]

Of course, one distinction between a feminist perspective in journalism history and a feminist approach to history in general is that women journalists *were* deviants from the norm, especially in the nineteenth century when women were excluded from the profession and then had to slowly regain their positions in the field. Therefore, it would be natural that much of the focus of a feminist perspective would be in generating compensatory histories. The drawback from an approach such as this, however, is that it segregates the women from journalists in general and by implication makes their work less important.

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[14] Beasley, "Application of Feminist Thought," p. 3 and pp. 10-13.

[15] Madelon Golden Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy, Great Women of the Press, (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983) pp. xii-xiii.

Emery and Emery's The Press and America is an interesting example of this phenomenon. To their credit, the father and son professors realized that women needed to be considered in a textbook for journalism history. The Emery's amended their text and covered some aspects of women in journalism, certainly with more enthusiasm than Mott's American Journalism, the last edition of which was published before the world had heard of Betty Friedan. But, the effect is that women appear to be an afterthought. After a thorough discussion of printing in Colonial America in The Press and America, there is a section titled "Colonial Women Printers."[16] After a discussion of New Journalism in the late nineteenth century, the subheading

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[16] Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, Sixth Edition, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988): 66-68.

"Women in Journalism" appeared.[17] The implication is that women's contributions are not important enough to be considered in the main discussion, but must be subjugated to an isolated entry.

Lerner's second level of feminist history is what she called "contribution history." This historical writing describes "women's contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society." At this level, Lerner argued the movement that women contributed to is in the foreground of the historical analysis, whether it is progressivism, the New Deal or Abolition, while the women are judged by male goals and standards. In journalism history, much of the feminist writing that can be labeled compensatory also fits into this second category. The journalistic superwomen are judged for their contribution to American journalism, which was, of course, a male-dominated profession and a charter member of the "old boys" network. Thus, the subjects of compensatory history in journalism were being measured by the goals of this exclusively male-dominated society. When history is written from this male perspective, historian James F. McMillan conceded that "the historiography often reflects an unfortunately patronizing attitude towards men."[18]

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[17] Ibid, 214-215.

[18] James F. McMillan, "Writing Women's History," History Today 31 (June 1981) 59.

Unfortunately, this is often the problem in journalism history, which tends to delineate its epochs based on significant events in American history. Yet, historians recognize that major political events "are not necessarily milestones in the history of women."[19] Historian Joan Wallach Scott of Brown University has argued that in order to write history from a feminist perspective there must be a "re-evaluation of established standards of historical significance."[20] Recently, Lauren Kessler of the University of Oregon developed a specialized template to facilitate the study of women's history. Her effort is based on women's experience in history rather than on the traditional epoch approach that delineates wars, presidential administrations and depressions. Kessler's template marks the witchcraft trials, the invention of the sewing machine, the Seneca Falls convention, the founding of the women's club movement and other important events in American women's lives. While such a timeline may tend to make history seem simplistic, it is nonetheless a beginning that can help rethink the way we see history.[21]

This is imperative. As Scott has argued, most women's history that is being written today, which Lerner described as contribution and compensatory history, is a supplement to traditional history. Lerner agreed. While conceding that contribution history has yielded important information about the women's rights movement and nineteenth century life for women, Lerner ridiculed it as a vehicle for true feminist history. "When all is said and done, what we have mostly done in writing contribution history is to describe what men in the past told women to do and what men in the past thought women should be," she argued.[22]

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Joan Wallach Scott, "Women in History, The Modern Period," Past and Present 101 (November 1983): 145.

[21] "Teaching Journalism History: Women's History Template," CLIO Among the Media 23:2 (Winter 1991): 4-5.

Lerner laid out these two levels of history-writing while advocating a more radical method. Scott's premise is basically very similar. Her discussion of the accepted approaches to feminist history outlined "her-story," the equivalent of Lerner's compensatory history, and a type of social history that is based on economic questions. This second category is not a truly feminist approach because economic variables, rather than gender-related ones, are used. Scott's theory stated that the truly feminist approach to history must "examine what gender and sexual difference have had to do with the workings of power."[23]

The ramifications of this theory for journalism history are clear. Journalism historians must see their subjects from a new perspective. Journalism history is in need of more researchers who take a "holistic" approach to writing. Zena Beth McGlashen of the University of North Dakota has suggested that researchers must adopt new "ways of seeing" to properly investigate women's role in the mass media.[24] For example, she argued, that researchers must realize that male editors were (and perhaps still are) openly hostile toward women's activities and issues and trivialized them in print. A look at the way nineteenth century newspapers ridiculed the work of suffragists such as Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton proves this point. James Gordon Bennett, editor of the nation's leading paper, The New York Herald, openly scoffed at the aims of nineteenth century feminists: "How funny it would sound in the newspapers that Lucy Stone, pleading a cause, took suddenly ill in the pains of parturition and perhaps gave birth to a find bouncing boy in court!"[25] Even Horace Greeley, who generally was thought of as a friend of women's rights, turned vindictive when Stanton angered him. After parting company with Stanton during the New York Constitutional Convention of 1867, Greeley vowed that "no word of praise shall ever again be awarded you in the Tribune, and that if your name is ever necessarily mentioned, it shall be as Mrs. Henry B. Stanton!" He kept his promise.[26] Obviously, historians must begin to see these editors, who have been immortalized for most of this century, from a new perspective.

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[22] Lerner, "PLacing Women in History," 7.

[23] Scott, "Women in History," 154.

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[24] McGlashen, "Ways of Seeing Women," 2.

[25] Eleanor Flexner, A Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States, (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1959), 81.

Researchers must also adjust their "front page definition of news" when studying women's issues because women journalists and women as news subjects traditionally have been associated with soft, or feature, news. In fact, in the 1970s, when women reporters were covering with newfound interest the women's movement, most of that news was placed on the women's page. Women journalists argued that if these stories had not appeared in the women's section, they would not have been published at all. They were, however, included by women editors who believed in the causes of the women's movement.[27] Thus, researchers who are interested in presenting a feminist perspective must be sensitive to other areas of news gathering and reporting than the traditional hard-news, front-page approach to history.

McGlashen also suggested that researchers look more frequently to local and alternative publications, as opposed to the elite papers, because many minorities turned to alternative publications when they were ignored or, worse still, mocked in the daily press.

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[26] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. II, (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1882): 287.

[27] Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benent, eds., Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978): 203.

Georgia Anne Nesmith of the University of Iowa argued that feminist scholars in journalism history have followed a "traditional course for studying the media, simply adding women and women's issues to that framework..."[28] Compensatory histories and contribution histories have laid the ground work for a new, deeper form of journalism history that includes women, rather than segregates them. The secret to re-writing history, Lerner suggested, lies in asking the right questions -- that is, questions that do not have an underlying assumption of the male-dominated society.

Applying Lerner's theory (which she in turn applied to the abolitionist movement as an example) to journalism history, the feminist historian might ask "What was woman's role in, perception of, and experience in journalism in the nineteenth century?" This question would elicit quite a different response than "What have women contributed to journalism in the nineteenth century?" The latter question assumes that activities of men are the norm and that women must be judged by male-defined markers of success in a male-dominated profession.[29] It naturally would uncover the names of major women journalists, but would measure their accomplishments against the accomplishments of men. Obviously, this would produce a sexist comparison because men and women in the nineteenth century certainly weren't beginning their careers from the same base. Men were believed competent; women had to prove their worth to disapproving male editors and to a disapproving society in general. Thus, the results of a male-defined question would necessarily be a sexually biased study. If, however, the feminist historian posed a question in the Lerner model, the response would elicit a description of the female experience in the male-dominated profession of journalism. Women's work could be judged simply on its own merit. For my own dissertation research an appropriate feminist-oriented question could be "What role did women journalists play in the municipal housekeeping experiences at the turn of the century?" A question such as this would measure the work of the women on their own merit without comparing them to men of their day. It would tackle an important but overlooked aspect of journalism history and fill a gap in the traditional "Great Man" approach. Implicit in research such as this is the assumption that the work of women mattered in and of itself and that it was different from the work men did at this time, but no less important. This is an important assumption for feminist-oriented research.

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[28] Georgia Anne Nesmith, "Through a Gendered Eye: Notes Toward a Socialist Feminist Critique of Media History," unpublished paper presented at the AEJMC Convention, August 1986, p. 2.

[29] Lerner, "Placing Women in History," 8.

In this bicentennial celebration year to mark the penning of the Bill of Rights, Nesmith's approach is tantamount to a revolution in journalism history. She proposed what is tantamount to a revolution in journalism when she suggested possible avenues for study of a feminist perspective. "What would happen to our construction of the significant events of media history if seen from the point of view of women denied the protection of the First Amendment?" she asked.[30] She suggested that historians could research the ways "government and media institutions cooperated in the systematic suppression of women's speech." And, as a final suggestive question, Nesmith proposed that researchers look into when the First Amendment counted for women.

The late journalist historian Catherine L. Covert argued that just as scientists organize themselves around the prevailing paradigm[31] journalist historians tend to focus their writing on three traditional approaches: winning, autonomy and change.[32] Like Lerner and Nesmith, Covert hinted that the key to changing the slant of journalism history is to change the questions. Covert proposed a history integrating the complementary insights arising from the experience of women" with traditional approaches. Such a re-writing of history "emphasizes failure and despair as well as success and progress, bonding and community as well as conflict and impact, and rhythms of repetition and return as well as innovation and change."[33]

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[30] Nesmith, "Through a Gendered Eye," 18.

[31] See Thomas S. Kuhn, "The Priority of Paradigms," pp. 44-51 in The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 2nd edition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[32] Covert, "Journalism History and Women's Experience," 4.

Covert used as an example historical accounts of sensationalism in newspapers. She proposed that instead of a traditional account of sensationalism, historians might look at the victims of sensationalism. "From such vantage points one would erect quite different systems of historical explanation."[34]

In terms of historical techniques, journalism historian Susan Henry has suggested that a model for studying minorities include social and economic history, biographical interpretation and local history.[35]

As a history, journalism is interesting because both the product and the profession may be studied. Not only can content analysis reveal much about the women who were writing for the newspapers, but it also can tell about the lives of women of the period. Studies of the content of the women's pages, of advertising in newspapers aimed at women, and stories about women also can reveal much about the lives of women in the context of the times when they were living. Henry analyzed the work of colonial women printers and used demographics, local history and biographical techniques to complete a clear picture of the work and contributions of these colonial women printers to journalism. Obviously, these same techniques could be used to elicit a history of other groups of women in American journalism.

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[33] Ibid, 12.

[34] Ibid, 7.

[35] Henry, "Colonial Woman Printer as Prototype," 24.

Historian Marion Marzolf, who tackled the subject of women in journalism with her survey book Up From The Footnote, has suggested that cultural history should include three interdependent factors: the people in the profession, the product that they produced and the culture in which the profession developed. With these strategies, Marzolf suggested that the opinions of women and other subgroups could offer important perspectives to a holistic approach.[36]

Perhaps I am too conservative because this paper does not suggest that traditional historical writing be abandoned. Journalism is story, so it is only natural that journalism history also be written in narrative. "...[M]ajority media as institutions were and are very powerful and, as such, still need to be studied and understood."[37] David Nord of Indiana University has suggested specifically that the study of power in the form of institutional histories must be the "cornerstone" of mass media history. He argued persuasively that journalism history be opened up to include the traditional approach as well as the more modern cultural perspective. "What's needed is a new and more critical evaluation and interpretation of those individuals and institutions that have so long been central to journalism history," Nord argued.[38]

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[36] Marion Marzolf, "Operationalizing Carey--An Approach to the Cultural History of Journalism," Journalism History 2:2 (Summer 1975): 43.

Yet, cultural studies in history (specifically the mass media) do, indeed, enrich the knowledge of what life was like for those who came before. This is not to suggest that Mickey Mouse had a greater impact on America in the 1930s than Franklin Roosevelt,[39] but history has grown large enough to encompass them both. The past is not just cluttered with great white men, but includes a rich body of knowledge of the cultural and life that went before us.

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[37] McGlashen, "Ways of Seeing Women," 12.

[38] David Paul Nord, "A Plea for Journalism History," Journalism History 15:1 (Spring 1988): 14.

[39] Gertrude Himmelfard, The New History and the Old, (Cambridge. Mass.: Belknap Press, 1987). In her introduction, Himmelfard railed against social historians who minimize the contribution of individuals in history. She cited Warren I. Susman, who stated in Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century (New York, 1985): 103, 197: "Mickey Mouse may in fact be more important to an understanding of the 1930s than Franklin Roosevelt."

It is clear that if historians wish to adopt a feminist perspective they must rethink the approach that they use. Questions that will form hypotheses must be posed in such a way so that male values are not imposed upon the accomplishments and work of the women to be studied. This is, perhaps, the most necessary facet of adopting a feminist perspective.

Historians who seek to pursue a feminist perspective also must be creative in their approach to sources. Content analysis, a technique that naturally lends itself to study of newspapers, must be supplemented by biographical and local history techniques. Finally, historians must be bold in their interpretation of the data. When historians strive to recreate a culture, they must be willing to analyze and explain -- a task difficult but mandatory for the many journalists-turned-historians in the field.

PRESS CONGRESS OF THE WORLD

International Standards for Journalists: The Activities of the Press Congress of the World, 1921-26

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INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS FOR JOURNALISTS: THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PRESS CONGRESS OF THE WORLD, 1921-26

In the wake of the international debate over a New World Information Order in the late 1970s and early 1980s, American journalists and media scholars have regarded proposals for worldwide standards for journalists with a great deal of suspicion.[1] To John Merrill, the idea of an international code of ethics is "farcical," while Elie Abel sees it as "fruitless."[2] Predicting the demise of the debate in 1990, *Editor & Publisher* labeled proposals for codes of conduct and linking press freedom to responsibility "inimical to the Western notion of a free press."[3]

Reflecting the polarization of the New World Information Order debate, American representatives frequently regard the concept of international journalism standards as jointly invented by Communist nations and totalitarian Third World governments; as such, it is a product of the last two decades, when these two blocs were in ascendancy in the organizations of the United Nations. That assumption is ahistorical, however. Debates over journalistic standards on the international level predate the rise of both the Second and the Third World, with the first international code of ethics adopted in the 1930s.[4] In fact, attempts to establish worldwide standards are as old as international journalism organizations themselves and go back almost 100 years.

Moreover, the American press has not always been hostile to the idea of searching for an international standard for journalism. This paper examines the debate over ethics and standards within an international journalism organization initiated from the United States in the 1920s, the Press Congress of the World. After describing the history and structure of the Press Congress and discussing its proposals for journalism standards, the paper concludes with an examination of reasons why the Congress failed, both in implementing those proposals and surviving as an organization.[5]

THE CREATION OF A MOVEMENT

When the Press Congress of the World held its first meeting proper in 1921, discussion of journalistic conduct on the international level was not a new phenomenon. The debate conducted over standards in the American press in the nineteenth century had been conducted with contributions from British writers, for instance, and it had also produced articles about the responsibility of journalism in international affairs.[6] More importantly, international meetings of journalists had paid attention to standards since such meetings started in the 1890s. The International Press Congress, meeting for the first time in 1894, concerned itself with codes of conduct, press tribunals and journalism education almost from the start.[7]

What made the Press Congress of the World different and the topic of this study was that it was an American initiative and was perceived as such by other countries.[8] Delegates and speakers from the United States abounded not only when the Congress met in the American territory of Hawaii but also during its later meeting in Switzerland. By contrast, American participation in the European-led International Press Congress was limited.[9] Moreover, the Press Congress of the World was headquartered in the United States because its active officers were Americans. The president throughout the effective life of the organization was Walter Williams, who ran the Congress from Columbia, Missouri, from its start in 1915 to its first meeting proper in 1921.[10] After the Hawaii meeting, the headquarters moved to New York City, home of *Editor and Publisher* owner James Wright Brown, the new Congress secretary. Williams stepped down as president in 1926 and was succeeded by New Zealander Robert Bell, but Bell proved an ineffective president who was unable to arrange further meetings.[11]

The main reason for a U.S. initiative in international relations during what is widely seen as a decade of American isolationism can be found in Williams' single-minded dedication to the idea that common bonds existed between the world's journalists. That idea had first entered his mind during a trip to Europe in 1901-02, and he had given it concrete expression in an international meeting of journalists, the World Press Parliament, which he organized at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904.[12] At St. Louis, Williams and other delegates had hoped to make the organization permanent, but despite a great deal of enthusiasm at the time, the plan came to nothing.[13] Walter Williams was given a second chance 11 years later, when the organizers of the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco put him in charge of holding an international press congress there.[14] Again, delegates enthusiastically endorsed a plan to meet regularly, and this time, Williams was determined to keep the plan alive.[15]

A major reason for his tenacity was World War I, which convinced Williams that international cooperation among journalists was crucial to peace and international welfare. As he saw it, the origins of the war could be traced to government censorship and other interference with the press but also to a general failure on the part of journalists to serve the public properly with truthful information. Williams wanted the Press Congress of the World to be a guarantee that nothing similar would recur.[16]

The war and its aftermath also served to make the ground fertile for American initiatives. The conflict had effectively broken up 20 years of meetings by the International Press Congress, and bad feelings between former enemies lingered following the war. The organization met again in 1927, but it never achieved the permanence and prominence of its pre-war years.[17] By contrast, the San Francisco congress held out promises for international press meetings due to America's position as a neutral. Despite refusals by some German journalists to attend a meeting where they would sit at the same table as their enemies, Williams was able to bring together other Germans with Russian and British delegates, and the meeting was also attended by journalists from areas not touched by the war, such as Latin America and the Far East.[18] Together, these delegates agreed that the object of the new organization was to "advance by conference, discussion and united effort the cause of journalism in every honorable way."[19]

The entry of the United States into the war did not dampen Williams' enthusiasm for the Press Congress of the World, and he went ahead with plans for another meeting in Australia in 1918. When the Australians first postponed and later canceled the congress, he arranged to have it meet in Hawaii in 1921.[20]

Although Williams always would refer to the 1915 meeting as the First Press Congress of the World, the 1921 gathering was the first time the organization met under its proper name and constitution and had a specified agenda; consequently, this paper treats it as the first of the only two meetings held by Press Congress of the World. After the problem of postponements and cancellation was repeated by the next presumptive host, Spain, the Congress met a second time in Switzerland in 1926.[21]

In his concern with journalism as an instrument for international good will, Williams was not alone among Americans in the 1920s. Following the war, American journalists wrote and spoke frequently about the press and peace, and the U.S. government was sufficiently concerned to be actively involved in the first Pan-American Congress of Journalists, meeting in Washington in 1926. The Washington Congress, which had Williams as its president, pledged itself to "stilling international distrust... as a contribution to the welfare of all mankind."[22] Although the U.S. government took no similarly direct interest in the Press Congress of the World, President Harding and the U.S. Senate endorsed the organization's first meeting and Secretary of State Kellogg the second one.[23] To some extent, then, the Press Congress reflected a general American sentiment as well as the single vision of Walter Williams.

STRUCTURE, MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCING

Before the St. Louis meeting, Williams had sought the cooperation of the International Press Congress, but after the Congress declined his offer to meet at the World's Fair he seemed to have made up his mind that the organization he envisioned would be independent and American-led.[24] As such, the Press Congress of the World broke with the structure of the European-centered organization, which was built on affiliation with national journalists associations in each country. It was an arrangement that gave the IPC a degree of financial stability that the Press Congress of the World lacked; the alternative solution of the latter organization, to base its membership of individual journalists and media institutions, was to be the source of economic problems. Although foreign delegates, at least, often spoke as representatives of national journalism associations, they brought no financial support from those organizations.[25]

The rather loose structure of the Press Congress of the World makes it difficult to estimate its actual membership. Opening the Congress in Hawaii, Williams claimed that the organization had 2,300 journalists representing 50 countries "upon its rolls."[26] Reviewing the progress of the Congress five years later, Secretary Brown claimed that a regular membership of 350 actually represented an improvement over the 1921 figure, because early dues were "purely complimentary and honorary."[27] By contrast, the 350 members of 1926 paid dues annually. Moreover, Brown hinted at a wider reach by pointing to the mailing list of the Congress, which contained 25,000 names.

To keep the Press Congress of the World going, a standing committee at the Hawaii meeting had estimated that between $60,000 and $75,000 was needed, and the committee hoped that the bulk of that money would be generated by dues from "wealthy newspapers" and other companies associated with journalism.[28] To that end, corporate member dues were set at $50 annually, while individuals paid $5.[29] In reality, nothing near the desired sum flowed in, and attempts to generate extra revenue by selling Congress proceedings met with limited success. Between the 1921 and the 1926 meeting the total revenues of the Press Congress of the World was $10,700, less than the contributions given to the single 1926 meeting of the Pan-American Congress of Journalists, to make one comparison.[30] Brown had to spend a great deal of his own money to promote the Switzerland Congress, and afterwards he doubted that the organization would survive unless some philanthropist donated money to it; the support from large corporate members had, by and large, failed to materialize.[31]

The small economic means of the Press Congress of the World meant that its visibility between meetings was low. When the Congress was not in session, it consisted essentially of its two top executive officers, the president and the secretary, both of whom volunteered their services. Funds to hire clerical staff were almost non-existent, and the "permanent establishment of several departments always at the service of editors, publishers and newspaper workers" that Williams envisioned in 1921 remained a dream.[32] Williams' enthusiasm and Brown's promotional skills kept the organization going until 1926, but when they both stepped down after the Geneva meeting, the fragile organizational framework of the Congress fell into disarray, as noted above, and the two congresses of the 1920s remained the only two times that the organization met as a worldwide body.[33]

ETHICS AND STANDARDS DISCUSSED

Judging from speeches at and endorsements of the Press Congress of the World, the main concern of the organization was furthering world peace.[34] The entire organization was based on the simple assumption that acquainting journalists with colleagues of other nations would do much to reduce the lack of international understanding that caused wars. Consequently, many of the speeches and papers at the meetings simply sought to tell their audience about the press of their home countries.[35] Between meetings, acquaintanceship would grow through the interchange of journalists between countries, one of the objectives of the Congress.[36]

Equally important to the cause of peace was that newspapers be able to receive truthful information about other countries and be free to publish it, and to that end the agendas of both Congress meetings included discussion of how to establish and maintain open news communications and attain and safeguard press freedom.[37] Press freedom, in particular, was a resonant theme of the 1926 Press Congress, when there were signs in both Europe and Latin America of newspaper suppression.[38]

Still, mutual acquaintance, press freedom and unrestricted news communication were not considered enough to further peace. Next to these issues on the agenda of the 1921 Press Congress were two items dealing with the preparation necessary for journalism and the obligations of the profession.[39] In his president's address Williams expressed the hope that the meeting would bring the delegates "added appreciation of the dignity and possibility of the profession," and in an *Editor & Publisher* article written before the meeting he had stressed that the Congress would stress "the proper preparation for entrance upon journalism, the maintenance of correct standards by those who have entered the fascinating field, the increased power of the press in the promotion of good or ill, and the right use of its power."[40] The press must be both responsible and free, Williams concluded in his opening address.[41]

As was the case with the American domestic debate over standards, the discussion within the Press Congress had its beginnings in criticism of the press.[42] Criticism, in turn, was rooted in uneasiness over changes in the finacing and production of newspapers. As early as 1904, two British speakers at the St. Louis World's Press Parliament had lamented the increasing reliance on advertising and the passing of the newspaper as a tribune for an individual editor, and both reappeared as themes at the Press Congress meeting in 1921.[43] A Missouri editor called out the names of great editors of the nineteenth century, and he admitted that the American press no longer could be said to mold public opinion as it had in the days of Greeley, Dana and Watterson.[44] In its place had come increasing concern with circulation and revenues, which resulted in sensationalism rather than public service.[45] A Brooklyn editor remarked that he and his friends had been unable to remember a single editorial they had read earlier that morning, a consequence of the modern newspaper being "general and impersonal."[46]

When bringing up criticism, American delegates tended to be optimistic and, as a result, less intent on providing solutions than their foreign colleagues. To James Brown, "clean, dependable, reliably accurate newspapers" were winning out over sensational ones in America, and the Missouri delegate quoted above ended by assuring his listeners that "all the good papers have not been in the past."[47] European and Far Eastern delegates were not so hopeful. A Greek speaker thought financial pressures produced a hunt for high circulations that threatened the accuracy of the news, and corporations could influence the papers by promising or withholding advertising; concentration of newspaper ownership and publishers who were not journalists were other problems.[48] A Norwegian echoed that criticism and stressed the danger of the tendency to give readers only what they wanted.[49] To a Korean journalist, "bigness and sensationalism" were "the spirit of the modern newspaper," and the "good old days" of individual journalism were gone forever.[50]

These and other speakers from outside the United States suggested concrete measures to change the trends they criticized. The Greek delegate favored the appointment of a "council of newspapermen" or the use of existing journalism associations to determine in advance who was responsible enough to be a publisher or an editor.[51] Virgilio Beteta, a long-standing Press Congress supporter from Guatemala, spoke of a "world press court," but his proposal was vague and obscured by flowery language.[52] The one concrete American solution came from Brown, who read the *Journalist's Creed*, written by Williams for the American press in 1908, to the Congress and issued a general call for an international code of ethics and standards of practice.[53]

Given these different proposals, the Press Congress settled for restricting its initiatives on the issue to passing two resolutions supporting journalism education and urging journalists to recognize their obligation to further "world fellowship," and for appointing one standing committee for education and and one for ethics of journalism and standards of practice.[54] Before the meeting, American delegate Herbert Bridgman had counseled the Press Congress to "drive... with a loose rein" and not aspire to authority and powers of sanction, and that was the advice that delegates followed.[55]

In the interim between the 1921 and 1926 meetings of the Press Congress, journalism ethics came to the forefront on the national level in several countries. Journalists of Sweden, Finland and Brazil adopted their first ethical codes in these years, and in the United States, the creation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and its Canons of Journalism in 1923 was surrounded by spirited debate.[56] Internationally, the First Pan-American Congress of Journalists, meeting only a few months before the Press Congress of the World, had passed a resolution calling for an code of ethics binding on all its member countries and had adopted Williams' *Creed*.[57] Consequently, it was not surprising that the Switzerland meeting gave the discussion of ethics and standards high priority.

As testimony to the organizational weaknesses of the Congress, the standing committee on ethics and standards had achieved little, but several of the individual speakers dealt with the topic. Williams, who stressed the importance of standards in his president's address, saw it exclusively as a matter of education of future journalists, while others attempted to formulate standards and ethics in terms of journalistic behavior.[58] To a representative of the Associated Press, high standards already existed in America, and it was just a matter of maintaining them. The world's journalists would do well to follow the AP, which always endeavored to "dig for the truth and tell the truth clearly" in the form of "important and responsible news."[59] In its devotion to the public, the agency wanted to "contribute to the happiness of the present...making that present a throbbing, vital, interesting entity."[60]

Reacting to the definition of high standards as the practice of American news writing, the French newspaperman who was chairman of the ethics committee agreed that seeking truth was the essence of journalism ethics, but he cautioned that facts alone did not always amount to the truth.[61] To serve the public with complete and truthful accounts, it was also necessary to "place facts in their true frame" and explain what had caused them to exist.[62] Journalists with high standards must shed their passion and their partiality and seek to be sincere, just and honest, stressed the French delegate.

Only two speakers, an Indian and an American, related their discussion to the criticisms voiced in 1921. To the former, ethics meant investing the modern machinery of news dissemination with a message of human service to steer it away from "wickedness and vice."[63] In an age where the newspaper had become a business, the journalist had to take extra care to be impartial and truthful in the face of pressure from publishers of advertisers.[64] The American was Casper Yost, one of the founders of the newly created American Society of Newspaper Editors, and his view of the influence of business practices on journalism was more detached. Modern newspaper publishing had separated editors from publishers, since the latter now were more concerned with revenues and profits than with journalism as a calling.[65] Editors, on the other hand, had in a sense been liberated by the move away from personal journalism with its partisan stands and were now free to consider themselves members of a dignified profession with broad editorial responsibilities to the public.[66]

The solutions proposed in 1921--an international council with power of sanction or a court of honor--were ignored by speakers at the later meeting. To Yost and other American speakers, the way to promote high standards lay in the professional socialization offered by journalism associations, and since it was working on the national level it was time to implement it internationally as well.[67] That view committed the Press Congress to nothing more than meeting regularly, and it seemed to suit delegates the best.

The Press Congress nevertheless went somewhat further in its final resolutions, one of which urged journalists outright to work for "the adoption everyehere of distinct codes of journalitic ethics and standards of practice, so that unnecessary and undignified antagonisms and distinctly selfish objects may be discouraged, in the conviction that the press everywhere may be elevated to the highest dignity as a noble profession devoted to the evolution of mankind in all its upward political, social and spiritual progress."[68] As to what those codes should encompass, the Congress provided but little guidance to its members. At Hawaii, Brown had, as mentioned above, read Williams' *Creed* to the meeting, and Yost's address in 1926 included the A.S.N.E. Canons of Journalism, but neither was suggested for adoption. Beyond general exhortations to journalists to be impartial and truthful, the Press Congress did not deal with codifying ethics, and the standing committee for dealing with the issue was not reappointed.

CONCLUSION

Investing the Press Congress of the World with the power of sanctions to enforce journalistic standards and ethics on a worldwide scale was never discussed at its meetings.[69] Instead, it was understood that the Congress would base its efforts to promote standards and ethics on regular meetings that would imbue participants with the obligations of the profession; association itself was the answer. Given this assumption, the stability and representativeness of the organization were crucial to its success. A stable and highly visible Press Congress that met regularly would remind members of the obligations of international journalism, and a membership that was representative of the entire press of of each country would in turn guarantee that those obligations ideals were honored in the daily work of journalism.

In both areas, the Press Congress of the World fell short. The organization's structural and economic problems that were noted above had a definite impact on its durability, and other factors contributed as well. In retrospect, the organization seems a creature unlikely to have survived the 1920s, when there still was wide agreement among the world's journalists about the basic purpose of the press and belief in the inevatability of newspaper progress. An expression of the latter was that the delegates to the Press Congress had genuine faith in the tenet of the organization, that journalistic acquaintance would make for international peace and understanding and that the world war had been but a temporary setback. Similarly, the agreement on the basic purpose and values of journalism expressed itself in the seemingly unanimous support at both Congress meetings for resolutions demanding an unrestricted flow of communication between nations and the cessation of government interference with the press nationally as well as internationally.

Later in the century, that basic agreement would vanish, and signs to that effect appeared early in the life of the Press Congress. Russia had been represented at the 1915 San Francisco meeting that established the Congress, but the new Soviet Union did not take part in the two subsequent congresses. Opening the Switzerland meeting, Brown noted the absence of delegates from Spain, where a military coup had led to suppression of the press, and Italy, where the Fascists had risen to power.[70] Fascism and Soviet Communism held views of the press very different from those of the Press Congress, and the ranks of such dissenters on the basic values of journalism would swell during the 1930s.

The failure of the Press Congress to attract support from major media organizations in the United States affected not only the organization's durability, since the sorely needed financial contributions from large newspapers never materialized, but also its representativeness, since the Press Congress could not be said to speak for this important segment of the press of the United States. Large papers were, with one or two exceptions, not represented either at Hawaii or Switzerland. The American news agencies, increasingly important participants in the debate over international communication, showed some interest in the 1926 Congress, but they were never actively involved and looked instead to the international press conferences arranged by the League of Nations.[71] The American membership of the Congress thus came to consist almost exclusively of editors of smaller newspapers in the Northeast and Midwest; of the newspapers represented at Hawaii, for instance, two out of three had circulations below 5,000.[72] American participation in the Press Congress thus came to resemble the membership of the National Editorial Association, the organization Williams had been active in since his days as a newspaper publisher, and while the relative success of Williams and Brown in generating interest in international journalism in these circles was notable, it did not make for a strong and influential organization.

If the inability of the Press Congress of the World to interest large American newspapers in its activities was evident from the start, the organization's lack of success in maintaining what was initially a great deal of European enthusiasm about the Congress became obvious as the 1920s wore on. It, too, raised questions about how representative the organization was. Here, the most threatening factor was competition for attention from other international organizations concerned with journalism. Once the League of Nations took an interest in international communication, its activities were likely to have greater appeal than those of an organization that was based in America and met only intermittently; by contrast, the League, headquartered in the heart of Europe, had high visibility and a permanent structure. Other competitors also surfaced in the form of journalism organizations similar to the Press Congress. After being dormant for 13 years, the International Press Congress met again in 1927, and the previous year saw the establishment of the International Federation of Journalists; like the League of Nations, the IPC and the IFJ were based in Europe.[73] For the British, who had been quite enthusiastic about the Press Congress of the World in 1921, the Imperial Press Conference became more important in the late 1920s.[74]

A plausible reason for the eventual uninterest of both European and American newspapers in the Press Congress of the World was the premise of its membership. In an era when journalistic association increasingly reflected the employer-employee relationship and division of labor within the newspaper industry--exemplified in the United States by the founding of the A.S.N.E in 1923--the Press Congress opted for a membership that was all-inclusive but clung to the perception of the typical journalist as the autonomous proprietor of a small newspaper rather than a salaried employee of a business organization. In Europe, where national newspaper associations had begun to split according to employer-employee status before World War I, the International Press Congress had been criticized as early as 1914 for basing its membership on the same all-inclusive premise as the Press Congress of the World.[75] In the 1920s, with the founding of the IFJ as an organization for working journalists, the employer-employee division reached the international level, and the membership premise of the Press Congress seemed outdated.

The failure of the Press Congress of the World raises questions about the very idea of international initiatives in journalism, which did not die with the Press Congress but continued to meet with limited success. Evaluating two periods during which the United States was actively involved in such initiatives, offensively in the 1940s and defensively in the 1970s, Margaret Blanchard is pessimistic about international agreement, seeing journalism as so culturally rooted in individual nations as to be impossible to "export."[76] For all the shortcomings of the Press Congress of the World, the creation of that organization suggests otherwise. The decades discussed by Blanchard were tinted by the Cold War and rival Soviet-American concepts of the mass media. That rivalry affected both international debate over journalism and the professional organizations surviving the Press Congress. The American press, which in the 1920s focused its attention on the intergovernmental League of Nations rather than on the journalist-organized Press Congress, came to view the League's successor, the United Nations, with increasing distrust when it came to international mass communication in general and codes of journalistic behavior in particular. The IFJ, too, would get caught up in the Cold War, pitting itself against a rival international association connected to the Soviet Union, the International Organization of Journalists, which espoused radically different views of the general purpose of journalism and what constituted ethical conduct.

By contrast, the 1920s that saw the creation of the Press Congress of the World were less antagonistic, and the effectiveness of international debate will always be determined by the international political climate. With the possibility of the Cold War ending and the Communist press model being discarded, agreement about basic values of journalism may again be possible. The failure of the Press Congress of the World was a verdict on the weakness of that specific organization rather than the idea that journalists may coop-erate across borders.

NOTES

[1] For a brief overview of the debate, see Robert G. Picard, "Global Communications Controversies," in John C. Merrill, ed., *Global Journalism: Survey of International Communication* (Second ed., New York: Longman, 1991).

[2] John C. Merrill, "Professionalization: Danger to Press Freedom and Pluralism," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1(2, Spring/Summer 1986):57; Merill criticizes codes of ethics in a national context as well, but his criticism is developed from the international debate; Elie Abel, "Communication for an Interdependent Pluralistic World," in Jim Richstad and Michael H. anderson, eds., *Crisis in international News: Policies and Prospects* (New York: Columbia university press, 1981), 114-15.

[3] George Garneau, "NWICO a thing of the past?" *Editor & Publisher*, May 12, 1990, 9.

[4] Lars Bruun, ed., *Professional Codes in Journalism* (Prague: International Organization of Journalists, 1979), 19.

[5] The Press Congress of the World has received scant attention in historical studies of international journalism; Margaret Blanchard devotes one paragraph to the Congress, mainly as a lead-in to the first League of Nations conference; Blanchard, *Exporting the First Amendment: The Press-G2overnment Crusade of 1945-1952* New York: Longman, 1986), 11-12; a contemporary work on international journalism, published six years after the last meeting of the Congress, gives it only a footnote, see Robert W. Desmond, *The Press and World Affairs* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), 328; Bruun (17-18) notes its attempts to deal with ethics but erroneously calls it the "International Press Conference"; even the biography of Williams is brief about the organization, see Frank W. Rucker, *Walter Williams* (Columbia: Missourian Publishing Association, 1964), 106-11; the most extensive account of the congress--outside its of own proceedings--is thus the idiosyncratic treatment of a 1950 thesis, George Robert Southworth, "A Press Congress for World Peace," unpublished master's thesis, Indiana University, 1950.

[6] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Betty Houchin Winfield, "Professional Awareness: Journalists' Self-Defined Creeds at the end of the Nineteenth Century," paper, West Coast Journalism Historians Conference, 1988; for turn-of-the-century articles of the press and international affairs, see E.L. Godkin, "Diplomacy and the Newspaper," *North American Review* 160 (1895):571-79; "Sensational Foreign News," *Nation*, Dec. 22, 1904; "Journalists and Diplomatists," *Living Age* 236 (1903):123-25; "Will the Newspapers Bring on a European War?" *American Review of Reviews* 40(1909):238-39.

[7] This study is part of a larger project that will also examine the activities of the International Press Congress; so far, a sense of its activities must be obtained from primary sources, such as the contributions by Grace B. Stuart in the British magazine the *Athenæum*; see Stuart, "The Press Congress at Antwerp," *Athenæum*, July 21, 1894, 96-97; Stuart, "International Congress of the Press," *Athenæum*, Sept. 28, 1895, 419; Stuart, "The International Federation of the Press," *Athenæum*, May 2, 1896, 583-84; Stuart, "Third International Congress of the Press," *Athenæum*, June 27, 1896, 844-45; Stuart, "Some International Press Courtesies," *Athenæum*, July 24, 1897, 130; Stuart, "The Congress of the Press at Lisbon," *Athenæum*, Oct. 15, 1898, 531; Stuart, "The International Congress of the Press at Rome," *Athenæum*, April 22, 1899, 499-500; Stuart, "Foreign Journalists in London," *Athenæum*, March 10, 1900, 336; Stuart, "The Seventh International Congress of the Press at Paris," *Athenæum*, Aug. 11, 1900, 185-86; Stuart, "The International Press Congress Movement Abroad and at Home," *Athenæum*, March 29, 1902, 400-01.

[8] The Press Congress of the World is defined as an "American parallel" to the European International Press Conference in Jiri Kubka and Kaarle Nordenstreng, "The Shaping of International Cooperation: From the 1890s to the 1940s," in Kubka and Nordenstreng, *Useful Recollections, part I* (Prague: International Organization of Journalists, 1986), 49; see also the opening speeches in Walter Williams, ed., *The Press Congress of the World in Switzerland* (Columbia, Mo.: E.W. Stephens Publishing Company, 1928), 4-6; to an Irish speaker at the 1904 World's Press Parliament, international journalism cooperation could not come about without the leadership of the United States, see *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament, Held at the Universal Exposition, Saint Louis, U.S.A.* (Columbia, Mo.: E.W. Stephens, 1904), 72; for criticism of the "Anglo-Saxon" character of the organization, see Charles Edward Russell to Wallace Odell, May 18, 1929, Walter and Sara Williams papers, State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, folder 129.

[9] For a comparison of U.S. participation, compare the delegate lists in Walter Williams, ed., *The Press Congress of the World in Hawaii* (Columbia, Mo.: E.W. Stephens Publishing Company, 1922) 508-15, and *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 184-89, with *Ier Congrès International de la Presse, Renseignements, Procès-Verbaux des Séances et Discours Communiqués* (Antwerp: J.E. Buschmann, 1894), 99-104; *Compte Rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès International de la Presse* (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1897), 56-64; *Compte Rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès International de la Presse* (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1898), 106-15; and *Compte Rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès International de la Presse* (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1899), 137-46.

[10] In that period, the Congress existed mainly in the occasional bulletins published by Williams; it also received some coverage in *Editor and Publisher*, which was published by soon-to-be Congress Secretary James Brown; see *The Press Congress of the World Bulletin*, Nos. I-XXVII, May 10, 1916-Nov. 20, 1920; Walter Williams, "Press Congress of World to Meet at Sidney," *Editor & Publisher*, May 22, 1919, 131; "Decide on Congress of World's Press," *Editor & Publisher*, Jan. 4, 1919, 20.

[11] See, for instance, Brown to Williams, Oct. 8, 1929, folder 292; Williams to Bell, Jan. 14 and March 21, 1929, folder 290; Williams to Bell, Nov. 7, 1929, folder 292; Frank Martin to Williams, Oct. 24, 1934, folders 242-43; all in Sara Lockwood Williams papers, Western Historical Manuscripts, University of Missouri; a 1931 meeting in Mexico City was regional in character, with delegates mainly from the Americas; it was, furthermore, arranged by Williams and his colleagues at the University of Missouri.

[12] Rucker, 95-105.

[13] "Permanent Congress," *Editor and Publisher*, May 28, 1904, 1-3; "Call to the Press," *Editor and Publisher*, Aug. 20, 1904, 3.

[14] Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition* Vol. 5 (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1921), 43.

[15] As proof of its permanence, Williams began issuing congress bulletins, with the first one appearing a year after the meeting; *Press Congress of the World Bulletin* 1, May 10, 1916.

[16] Williams, "How Press Can Serve Cause of Democracy," *Aurora Republican*, June 27, 1917, clipping, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 652; a passage blaming the official and semi-official agencies--including Reuter's of Britain and Havas of France--was used several times, see Walter Williams, "International Free Press," *The Public*, Oct. 19, 1917, 1011-12; reprinted in *Press Congress of the World Bulletin* 10, Jan. 20, 1918; *Tokyo Advertiser*, November 1918, clipping, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 704.

[17] "International Conference of the Press," *Newspaper World*, July 9, 1927, 14; Kubka and Nordenstreng, 49.

[18] Despite efforts by Williams, the proceedings of the San Francisco congress were never published, but a general idea of its outcome is given in *Editor and Publisher* and in a summary by Williams in the 1921 Congress proceedings; see *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 3, and "World Press Congress," *Editor & Publisher*, July 10, 1915, 111, 116; "Williams Heads World's Press Congress," *Editor & Publisher*, July 17, 1915, 140; as to participation and topics covered, a vague and general overview is given in the exposition book, while the coverage of the San Francisco daily press provides more detail: see Todd, 48; *San Francisco Examiner*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *San Francisco Call & Post*, July 5-9; on German refusals to participate, see "Warum wir nicht kommen könnte," *Hannoverlicher Kurier*, April 19, 1915, clipping, Sara Lockwood Williams papers; for figures for foreign participation, see Walter Williams, "Brief Report on the International Press Congress," *National Printer-Journalist*, clipping, no date, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 283; Grant Wallace, "World Press Congress," *Editor and Publisher*, July 10, 1915, 111, 116; *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 6, 1915, 9; July 7, 3; July 11, 38; *San Francisco Examiner*, July 6, 1915, 5.

[19] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 3.

[20] On the problems with Australia, see *Press Congress of the World Bulletin* 5, March 20, 1917; 6; Jan. 3, 1919; March 20, 1919; March 20, 1920; Nov. 20, 1920.

[21] For the search for a Congress host after 1921, see *The Press Congress in Switzerland*, 8-9; James W. Brown, "The Third World Congress," *Journalism Bulletin*, I (1924)47-48; "The Press Congress of the World,

to Meet in Third Session at Seville, Spain, May 23-29, 1925," pamphlet, folder 6, box 5, Walter Williams memorabilia, University of Missouri Archives; Williams to the Association of Dutch Journalists, Jan. 12, 1923; Walter and Sara Williams papers, folder 131; Williams to Nederlandsche Journalisten Kring, Aug. 18, 1925; NJK to Williams, Aug. 26, 1925; Walter and Sara Williams papers, folder 95.

[22] *Proceedings of the First Pan American Congress of Journalists*, pamphlet, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 300, 199; also in *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 18; on the Congress itself, see Mary A. Gardner, *The inter American Press Association: Its Fight for Freedom of the Press, 1926-1960* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 3-5; on Williams' presidency, see L.S. Rowe to Williams, June 23, 1924, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 301; for articles on press and peace, see Oswald Garrison Villard, "The Press and International Affairs," *Conference on International relations, University of California Semicentenary Celebration* (Berkeley: University of California, 1919, 271-80; David Lawrence, "International Freedom of the Press Essential to a Durable Peace," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 72(July 1917):139-41; and *New York Times*, Jan. 13, 1921, 17; in general, the presidential administrations of the 1920s took a keen interest in the role journalists played in influencing public opinion on international affairs, see Frank Costiglola, *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919-1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 69-75.

[23] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 6; *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 1, 66-67; *Congress Bulletin, Press Congress of the World*, April 1921, 1; May 1921, 6.

[24] On the refusal of the European organization, see "Abandonment of the Press Congress in St. Louis," *Athenæum*, May 2, 1903.

[25] A Norwegian delegate proposed basing the Press Congress of the World on national associations in 1926, but nothing came of the proposal; *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 14.

[26] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 71.

[27] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 11-12.

[28] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 351-52.

[29] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 12.

[30] Statement of treasurer's receipts and disbursements, Press Congress of the World, July 31, 1926, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 284; for the budget of the Pan-American Congress of Journalists, see "First Pan-American Congress of Journalists, Statement of Accounts," Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 301; according to Gardner (3) the money came from fifty major American newspapers.

[31] Before the Switzerland Congress, the organization had a deficit of $8,900, see Statement of treasurer's receipts; Brown to Williams, March 28, 1929, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 291; Brown to Robert Bell, Nov. 2, 1928, William and Sara Williams papers, folder 129.

[32] Brown to Williams, March 28, 1929, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 291; Frank Martin to Williams, Oct. 24, 1934, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folders 242-43; on Williams' plan, see *Japan Advertiser*, Nov. 15, 1921, clipping, scrapbook, Walter Williams memorabilia, University Archives, University of Missouri.

[33] Adding to the lack of organizational talent of President Bell was the problem of maintaining contact between a secretary-treasurer in the United States and a president in New Zealand, see Wallace Odell to Williams, Jan. 18, 1929, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 290.

[34] See, for instance, the letters of President Harding and others unable to attend the Hawaii Congress, as well as the prepublicity in *Editor & Publisher*; *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 67-70; 403-18; see also Williams' opening address (76), expressing hopes that a league of journalists would "promote and maintain world peace"; "Press Congress Topics Must Be Vital to World Welfare," *Editor & Publisher*, Sept. 24, 1921, 11, 60.

[35] This was particularly the case with papers sent to but not presented at the Congress, see *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 190-241.

[36] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 72; *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 25.

[37] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 72; *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 25.

[38] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 26-29; it was in the area of international communication that the organization achieved the most concrete results; following the 1921 meeting it produced a report on the "news situation" in China and Korea and successfully lobbied the U.S. Navy to allow continued use of its radio facilities for the press; see *Congress Bulletin*, September 1922, 11; March 1922, 1-8; in 1926, a Congress resolution calling for an international conference devoted to reducing the cost of news transmission seems to have been heeded by the League of Nations, which called together "press experts" the following year; "World Wide Free Press to Serve All Men," *Editor & Publisher*, Oct. 9, 1926; *The Press Congress in Switzerland*, 24-32; according to Blanchard (13-15) the proposals of the League conference were largely ignored.

[39] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 72.

[40] Walter Williams, "Service in Most Effective Way Purpose of Congress," *Editor & Publisher*, Sept. 24, 1921, 14; *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 71.

[41] "Service in Most Effective Way."

[42] For criticism leading to call for standards in the American context, see Dicken-Garcia, 116-222.

[43] *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*; 29-37, 49-55.

[44] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 262-64.

[45] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 254-55; *cf.* the similar criticism by James Brown, 245.

[46] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 193.

[47] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 244; *cf.* the similar view of a country editor from New York at the Switzerland Congress; *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 130-31.

[48] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 95-6.

[49] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 99-100.

[50] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 207.

[51] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 93-95; the Norwegian speaker also favored more powerful press associations, 103.

[52] "World Peace Ideal of Press Congress," *Editor & Publisher*, Sept. 24, 1921, 5.

[53] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 363, 367-368.

[54] "Press Congress Topics Must Be Vital to World Welfare," *Editor & Publisher*, Sept. 24, 11, 60; still, Brown considered ethics important enough to declare it one of two main aims of the Congress, see "Ethics and Understanding Press Congress Aim," *Editor & Publisher*, Dec. 3, 1921, 5.

[55] Bruce J. Evenson, "A Struggle over Professionalism: Jazz Age Journalism and the Founding of the American Society of Newspaper Editors," paper, AEJMC Conference, 1990; for passages of codes in Europe, see Bruun, 17-19; France had passed a code as early as 1918.

[56] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 18, 20.

[57] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 29-30.

[58] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 75-76, 72.

[59] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 74

[60] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 92

[61] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 94.

[62] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 204.

[63] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 205-209.

[64] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 235.

[65] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 235.

[66] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 128; 237; "International Organized Press Is Hope of World understanding," *Editor & Publisher*, Sept. 18, 1926.

[67] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 248-49; Williams' "creed" is regarded as an early attempt at a code of ethics, see Evenson, 9; as Evenson points out, *Editor & Publisher* under Brown was a fervent supporter of a national code; Evenson, 11.

[68] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 143

[69] This was in stark contrast to the debate within the ASNE, see Evenson.

[70] *Press Congress in Switzerland*, 8-9, 13.

[71] Both the large New York newspapers and the agencies feted the delegates of the 1921 Congress in New York as the latter were on their way to Switzerland; the interest of the papers seemed to have ended there, while representatives of the agencies spoke at the meeting, "Three Days of New York's Best Fun Planned for Press Congress," *Editor & Publisher*, Aug. 14, 1926, 16; "Press Congress Hosts Talk Shop to Guests," *Editor & Publisher*, Sept. 4, 1926, 4; it is probable that Brown's organizational talents were responsible for the New York welcome; on the involvement of the American news agencies in League activities, see Blanchard, 11-16.

[72] *Press Congress in Hawaii*, 508-15; *Ayer's*, 1921; only three papers had circulations over 50,000, and only one, the *New York World*, exceeded 100,000.

[73] *Idealism in Action: The Story of the IFJ* (Brussels: International Federation of Journalists, 1966), 11; "International Conference of the press," *Newspaper World*, July 9, 1927, 14.

[74] Williams to Brown, Nov. 23, 1929, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, folder 301; Frederick Lawson to Wallace Odell, Aug. 7, 1928, folder 288.

[75] "16:e internationella prässkongressen," *Journalisten*, July 1914, 4; Kubka and Nordenstreng, 49; in Britain and Sweden, respectively, the employer-employee split had resulted in the formation of the National Union of Journalists in 1906 and Svenska Journalistföreningen (The Swedish Association of Journalists) in 1901; see Harry Christian, "Journalists' Occupational Ideologies and Press Commercialisation," in Christian, ed., *The Sociology of Journalism and the Press* (University of Keele, 1980), 275; and Nils Andersson and Harald Hjern, *Svenska Journalistförbundet* (Stockholm: Svenska Journalistförbundet, 1951), 11.

[76] Blanchard, 401-02.

The Old and the New in Photojournalism History

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The Old and the New in Photojournalism History

Photojournalism — photographer and author Tim Gidal considers it "a visual expansion of journalism."[1] Media historian Frank Luther Mott describes it as "the art of producing and editing pictures which report and comment on the news."[2] Arthur Rothstein, longtime technical director of *Look* magazine, defines the news photographers rather than their trade: "These are the photojournalists: observers of people and events who report on what is happening in photographs; interpreters of facts and occurrences who write with a camera. ...[3] Today photographic reportage is taken for granted. Of course, it was not always this way. The technology of photography is little more than a century and a half old. But almost from its very beginning photography was used as a means to interpret "newsworthy" information. In short, news photography is not only an important element of today's mass media in the United States; it also has a rich history.

However, much of this rich history has yet to be written. Most historical treatments of American news photography are based on theoretical models and methods that are a part of what James Carey has called an "exhausted" form of scholarship — the "whig interpretation of journalism history."[4] This observation probably comes as no revelation to many communications or art scholars — several have noted the somewhat impoverished state of historical scholarship concerning the general medium of photography or specific modes of the medium. For example, Richard Christopherson claims that art history ignores photographers — that photographers are only detailed in histories of photography. But, writes Christopherson, the histories of photography tend to marginalize all of the various directions photography has taken by historically lumping together the different modes of the medium, from fine art work to amatuer work.[5] Because of this, he claims, fine art photography really has no specific historical account. The same could be said of the other modes of photography — photojournalism included. For example, journalism historian Hazel Dicken-Garcia writes about the "inattention" of journalism historians to "photographic ... history."[6]

American Studies historian Alan Trachtenberg identifies several problems with histories of photography:

> We do have a body of scholarship concerning the history of the medium, but photographic historians have rarely concerned themselves with aesthetics, or with the presuppositions governing their own notions of the field. In general, histories have provided either compilations or, on the model of conventional art history, connoisseurship. There has been little notable effort to address the medium itself, to examine its evolving character, its social and cultural properties, its complex relations with other media, and the great variety of roles it performs. ... On the whole, histories have passed over critical differences — of mode, of style, and even of communicative "language" — that have developed among the many quite sundry practices of photography. And insofar as a "practice" is governed by the social structure within which it occurs, photographic history has also ignored ... the significant social history of the medium.[7]

While Trachtenberg's perceptive comments are focused on historical treatments of photography in general, they can be related to historical accounts of photojournalism in particular.

The purpose of this work is twofold: One purpose is to track the quantity and define the nature of historical writings about photojournalism published in the United States. How have historians treated photojournalism? Have many of the historical works concerning news photography been organized into a few interpretive patterns? The second purpose is to propose new interpretive models for historians of photojournalism. This work will begin with an analysis of historical writings about photojournalism. The analysis will open with general histories and progress to more specific historical treatments found in books, monographs and articles.[8]

However, not all published work related to photojournalism history will be analyzed. In fact, many published works related to photojournalism history will be excluded from this paper because they are not the types of historical treatments of photojournalism this paper focuses upon. Many published works related to photojournalism history are either biographies of photographic personages, or 'picture history' books composed almost solely of photographs.

Because they tend to be composed of little or no written historical analysis, 'picture histories' are excluded from this work. Because biographies tend to be ahistorical, myopic "life story" dramas, they too are excluded. This paper is concerned with in-depth, interpretive, written accounts of photojournalism history because it is this area of study that the new interpretive models proposed later in this paper address.

Before detailing specific treatments of histories related to photojournalism, some general comments are in order. It is fair to say that historical treatments of American photojornalism, while at times rich in detail, are generally fragmented, somewhat limited in scope and lacking in systematic analysis that includes grounding in social and cultural structures. Dominating these historical writings are triumphant tales of technological progress; descriptive explanations centered around the influence of certain individual historical actors; and fragmented discussions of the changing relationships between photography and certain print media or other social institutions. Historical works that focus on certain temporal and spatial bits and pieces of American photojournalism abound — especially if one considers biographies — but a comprehensive, in-depth synthesis incorporating these bits and pieces has yet to be written.

However, synthesis is not absent in treatments of news photography — it just lacks interpretive depth. Many of the most-cited works which present photojournalistic history could be classified as syntheses that lack interpretive depth. It appears that historical synthesis of American news photography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been attempted by two types of scholars. The first type could be labled the 'generalist' — those writing general histories of photography. Their treatments of American news photography tend to lack depth and breadth in part because the general history must account for so much more besides photojournalism, and in part because of the interpretive models used.

The second type of scholar attempting historical synthesis in American news photography could be labeled the 'backgrounder.' These scholars usually produce biographies of leading photojournalists; texts on developing skills in photojournalism; treatises on photography in contemporary society; or historical treatments of photographic practices as they relate to a certain medium, a type of event, etc. The 'backgrounder' scholar typically begins a work by presenting a synthesis — sort of a recap — of historical trends in photography leading up to the subject at hand. These introductory summaries, like the limited treatments found in general histories, also tend to lack depth and breadth. The works which provide some sort of depth are usually fragments — historical slices taken out of space and time, such as a dissertation which is focused on the early years of *Life* magazine or a journal article detailing editorial judgments concerning newspaper photography around the turn of the century.

Whether synthesis, biography or a more focused treatment, historical writings about American news photography are primarily narrative works with a definite chronology either oriented around technological changes or, especially in the case of biography, a person's life. Interpretive models or theories are not discussed explicitly in these historical works, although it is fair to say that models and theories are implicit in all historical works. Descriptions are common in the historical writings about news photography, but analysis is usually implicit at best — something to be rooted out of the narrative structure by a stubborn reader.[9] Political, economic and other organizational social structures are rarely addressed in any detail. And cultural context, if presented at all, is not usually presented very clearly.

Implicitly assumed in most of the historical writings about American news photography is a transmission model of photographic communication. The photograph is understood to be a transmitter of a moment of reality. It is considered merely a two-dimensional representation of reality — a "document," as Richard Christopherson writes.[10] And this transmission of information apparently takes place largely in a social and cultural vacuum, according to most historical treatments. Undeniably the photograph is a communicator of manifest information. But the photograph is also a construction — a production of meanings based largely on cultural values and conventions. Viewers of photographs 'read' more than a depiction of reality out of a photograph — they 'read' values and perhaps myths. Cultural meanings are reinforced by the image. This aspect of photography receives little treatment in most histories about photojournalism.

In short, generalizations about aesthetics or style are common in the historical writings about photojournalism, but the 'latent grammar' of the photograph or genre of photography is usually not discussed in any detail and is rarely systematically analyzed. Technological processes are detailed; the influences of the 'great men' are described;

connections between trends in photojournalism and media structures such as the magazine industry are studied closely; the impact of important events such as World War II on photography is assessed; but historical treatments of news photography usually lack strong social and cultural dimensions. Of course, it is important to note that the contributions of historical writings about photojournalism should not be slighted too much. A great deal of valuable historical descriptions have accumulated, if nothing else.

The General Histories

Most of the general histories of photography published in the United States are all-encompassing when it comes to highlighting historical trends of photography throughout the world. As discussed earlier, the problem with this sort of synthesis is often one of a lack of interpretive depth. In order to present all the manifestations of the historical chronology, detail is sacrificed and in-depth analysis is avoided. Thus, the general histories are limited by their very nature. However, an understanding of chronological facts and figures is important, as long as one does not get caught up in the eclectic yet teleological nature of these general historical presentations, which often leads to an implicit "presentism" in one's understanding of history.[11]

Undoubtedly the most influential general history of photography is and has been for decades Beaumont Newhall's *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present*, which was first published in 1937. The fifth and latest revised and expanded edition was published in 1982. Newhall, a professor of art at the University of New Mexico, stresses in the preface to the fifth edition that he does not dwell on the technological or "scientific" aspects of photographic history — he is concerned with photography as it relates to humans. He writes that his book is "a history of a medium rather than a technique" and "(t)he technology of photography is discussed in this essay in as far as it affects the photographer."[12]

Despite Newhall's downplay of the technology of photography, his history is chronologically organized according to technological advances in photography. This organization is given impetus through the narrative form he employs — he begins at the beginning, which for him is the *technological* birth of photography in 1839 , and follows trends in photography up to the 1980s. Most of the trends Newhall details are oriented around some sort of technological change. Several chapters are concerned solely with technology — from chapter three about the daguerreotype in the 1840s; to chapter eight about faster lenses and flexible film in the 1880s and 1890s; to chapter fifteen about color photography starting in the 1930s. In other words, technological determinism is always lurking between the lines of the narrative.

Combined with this model of technological determinism is a 'great man' form of the rational-actor model. To Newhall, different well-known historical actors in various time-frames up to the present continually have taken the rational step of adopting a new technological change in photography. New forms of artisitc expression or new ways to communicate information are made possible by technological changes and those historical actors who had the vision to utilize the changes — to make something new out of a new technology. The result is always some sort of *progress*. Because of this, readers of Newhall's classic work cannot help but to frame his discussions of the past within the present. The past is seen to be a near direct linear progression to the present. This is somewhat misleading, because it tends to disenfranchise the past — it mystifies the past by simplifying it.

Out of nearly three hundred pages of text and photographs, Newhall devotes one chapter to historical developments in news photography throughout the world. Advances in technological processes related to photographic reproduction in print are central to the narrative in Newhall's chapter fourteen, entitled "Photojournalism." He starts with wood engravings and moves through the inventions and uses of the halftone and rotogravure. Camera and film technology are also detailed as they relate to developments in photojournalism. Newhall combines with his technological determinism and 'great man' models a new interpretive twist which could be labeled the 'great mass medium' model.

The idea of the 'great mass medium' approach is that technological advances in photography were put to work by innovative historical actors (photographers, editors and publishers) through certain 'great media,' in particular German and American magazines of the 1920s and 1930s. It is apparently assumed by Newhall that these 'great mass media' — the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* magazine would be one example — were trendsetters to the point that they were responsible for restructuring the whole relationship between photography and print media in a given time and space. This may well be, but little historical evidence is utilized to give weight to such assumptions. Only certain names, dates, facts and general trends are highlighted in the chapter. And newspaper photography and press association photography are almost completely excluded from the discussion. Nothing more than a basic outline is presented — an outline organized around important historical actors, their creations, and their technological tools.

Most other general histories of photography use interpretive strategies similar to Beaumont Newhall's in *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present.* For example, Joseph Eder's 1945 *The History of Photography;* Helmut Gernsheim's 1965 *A Concise History of Photography;*and Naomi Rosenblum's 1984 *A World History of Photography* — all of which can be considered important and influential works — are organized around a combination of technological determinism and the innovative activites of the 'great man,' his genre of photography and perhaps a particular mass medium. Still, two more of the general histories of photography deserve brief mention. Each, while somewhat similar to Newhall's interpretive strategy in organization and narrative style, also deviates from Newhall's work in a particular way.

Robert Taft's *Photography and the American Scene, A Social History, 1839-1889* differs from most general histories in that Taft confines his study to photography's first fifty years in the United States. Although published in 1938, the book is still cited frequently. Because his work does not try to highlight world trends well into the twentieth century like most general histories, Taft's descriptions are much more thorough than many general histories. Still, his book is organized around technological determinism and the 'great man' rational actor.

In fact, his descriptions often read like a well-written and detail-laden front-page newspaper story: An innovative 'great man' *(who)* made a set of photographs or was instrumental in creating/enriching a new genre of photography *(what)* with a particular type of equipment and chemicals *(how)* during a particular well-identified historical era *(when)* in a particular type of geographic or social setting *(where).* Historian Robert Berkhofer calls this type of historical account a chronicle — a basic level of historical explanation that is necessary for the historian attempting to explain "history proper," which is the second level of historical explanation focusing on*why* types of questions.[13] The *why*, however, is not an explicit part of Taft's numerous stories — it is only implied through his juxtaposition and ordering of the who, what, when, where, and how.

British art historian Ian Jeffrey's *Photography, A Concise History*, published in 1981, is touted as a book that "... answers the need for a concise general history of photography which has a critical rather than a technical slant."[14] Jeffrey does avoid technological determinism in his historical treatment of photography. He attempts to forge a loose chronology out of an examination of the work of certain European and American photographers "... who have sustained and supplemented ... photography's dominant modes."[15] In other words, his is a work detailing levels of "connoisseurship," as Alan Trachtenberg has labeled it. In this sense his work is as much of an excursion into *present* understandings of past photographic work as it is an historical foray into the past.

Jeffrey concentrates on meanings — on what certain 'great man' historical actors meant to communicate or express through their images, and why these historical actors were revered in their own time and still are today. While Jeffrey's approach is valuable, it is somewhat ahistorical. His synchronic analyses are rather shallow, and he is apparently not concerned with making any sort of analysis of processes of change. He makes no systematic and in-depth attempts to connect his historical actors and their work to their own social and cultural contexts, although these sorts of connections would seem to be necessary to his approach. His treatments of sociocultural contexts are cursory and sporadic at best. For example, in his chapter detailing American social documentary photographers of the 1930s, the reader is only occasionally thrown bits of image meanings and sociocultural context, such as:

> ... many American documentary pictures are portraits — character studies which reveal little of social conditions. American photographers did set out to right particular wrongs, but above all they worked with regard for individual identity, under threat of an increasingly mechanized society.[16]

While insightful, this passage leaves the reader wanting more elaboration of these interesting points.

However, there is no more. Jeffrey's "concise history" moves from this passage into the standard historical fare of the 'life and times' of Jacob Riis. Later in the chapter Jeffrey again drops an insightful comment and again lets it stand alone. This happens frequently throughout the book, so much so that reading the book becomes a rather maddening experience. Still, his concise general history of photography does break out of the technological determinism mold and provides numerous insights into how historical actors have attached meanings to photographic images.

Lengthy Historical Treatments Devoted to Photojournalism

Other than biographies of well-known photojournalists and picture histories such as the 1984 Associated Press book, *Moments in Time, 50 Years of Associated Press News Photos*,there are relatively few lengthy historical accounts focused on news photography in particular. The literary landscape is practically barren. It appears there are only two basic categories of lengthy historical writings about news photography that could not be considered biography or picture history: 1) unpublished historical works in dissertation form by doctoral students studying history and/or mass communication. 2) published writings that are not written by historians, but by photojournalism educators, former photojournalists or employees of corporations, namely Time, Inc. The unpublished dissertations are generally more systematic and scholarly in approach. The published writings by professionals generally are not.

Because the published writings by professionals usually explore the past only as backgrounding for a discussion grounded in the present, a sense of presentism skews the historical presentations in these works. These accounts, like Newhall's, are narratives utilizing the interpretive models of technological determinism, the 'great man' rational actor, the 'great mass medium' — and underlying all of these models is the transmission model of communication. What is useful about several of these writings is that they were written by individuals who lived part of the history they were writing about. This autobiographical nature of parts of these historical writings can indicate to the reader a sense of the mentalite of those who practiced photography during a particular time — mostly the 1920s through the 1950s since this is when the authors were working in photography. But in this sense these writings become primary sources rather than important secondary historical writings. As secondary sources they tend to present similar information in a similar form.

Probably the most-cited historical treatment of news photography in these published writings is French photographer Gisele Freund's 1980 treatise, *Photography and Society*. Freund is largely concerned with photography as a social force in contempory society, but she does present a rather well-developed historical account of European and American news and documentary photography from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Her account is a descriptive narrative similar to Newhall's, but Freund fills out her descriptions with more detail concerning individual photographers, sociocultural context, and mass media structures as they relate to the occupational role of photojournalist. Still, technological determinism and 'great man' rational actors permeate the fifty-six pages he devotes to his historical narrative. For example, she devotes approximately twenty percent of her entire section on news photography history to two small cameras, the Ermanox and Leica, and Erich Salomon, the pioneering German photographer of the 1920s and early 1930s.

Tim N. Gidal is another European photojournalist who has written about the history of his trade. Gidal, who along with his brother claims to be one of the first German photographers to be called a 'photojournalist' during the late 1920s, wrote a short book, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933*,published in 1973. Gidal's book, composed of thirty pages of text and sixty pages of photographs, is unlike most other lengthy published works which focus on photojournalism history because it is completely devoted to the historical account. In other words, Gidal is not a 'backgrounder.' His thesis is that the modern concept of photojournalism in the Western World was forged in Germany during the late 1920s, but he begins his account with the usual discussion of European and American mid-nineteenth-century technical advances and the great men who used new photographic technology. Most of his narrative, however, focuses on the individuals associated with the German illustrated magazines during the Weimar Republic — he contends that it was through them (and he was one of them) that modern photojournalism began.

Gidal defines "modern photojournalism" as photographic communication that does not have to rely on the printed word to get its message across — usually a series of "candid" photographs is used to tell a story in images. Photographs do not supplement the written word in the transmission of information; instead, the written word supplements the photographic images. This definition, with its underlying reliance on a transmission model of communication, is present in similar form in nearly all the works discussed in this paper. It is a definition centered on *magazine* photography. Apparently newspaper photography, according to Gidal's definition, would not be considered "modern photojournalism." It is possible magazine photojournalism has been emphasized by those writing histories of photojournalism not necessarily because it is a 'better' or more evolved form of news photography and thus more worthy of scholarship, but simply because it is more accessible to the scholar, considering the interpretive models which are usually employed. The daily press with its scores of photographers and editors spread across numerous regions cannot really be adequately analyzed through the use of the 'great man' and technological determinism models. Therefore, they usually are not analyzed at all. In any case, Gidal's short book reads more like an elaborate reminiscence than it does an historical account.

Most published writings that focus in some way on the history of news photography are texts on developing photojournalistic skills. Four of these works in particular have been cited quite frequently for their historical treatments of news photography: John Whiting's 1946 *Photography is a Language;* Wilson Hicks' 1952 *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism;* Arthur Rothstein's 1956 *Photojournalism: Pictures for Magazines and Newspapers;* and certain volumes of the Time-Life Books' "Life Library of Photography." Whiting, when his book was published in 1946, was a magazine picture editor. Hicks was at one time the executive editor of *Life* magazine. Rothstein was an FSA and *Look* magazine director of photography.

The Time-Life series, which includes numerous books detailing not only photo-journalism and documentary photography but many other aspects of photography, should not be viewed without considering the corporate nature of the production. The Time-Life books are produced by one of the largest publishing empires in the world — and photography has been a central facet of the empire almost since its origin.[17] In any case, it appears that the most-cited, lengthy historical treatments of photojournalism do not as a whole emphasize historical developments.[18]

The more scholarly historical treatments of news photography have not been published. They are dissertations, and there are only a handful. Apparently, in the United States during the last forty years there have been fewer than ten dissertations produced that are historical treatments of aspects of news photography. Only one has been produced in the last decade. In the following discussion, four of these works will serve as examples of this limited area of mass communication scholarship.

In 1958, under the direction of mass media historian Frank Luther Mott at the University of Missouri, doctoral student Otha Spencer produced "Twenty Years of *Life*: A Study of Time, Inc.'s Picture Magazine and its Contribution to Photojournalism." Spencer's lengthy study is basically a narrative of *Life* magazine's origin and success; an analysis of *Life*'s operational structure; and descriptions of the individuals and events central to the magazine's success up to 1956. Spencer was writing contemporary history. His account of the magazine was written when *Life*was at its height, economically and as a social force. Spencer was writing about *Life* before television largely usurped the magazine industry's hold on general-interest national advertising in the 1960s. While Spencer's account is riddled with the fallacy of presentism (he sees all trends in the history of news and documentary photography leading to the origin and success of *Life* in the late 1930s), it is also valuable because of its excellent descriptions of the many facets of *Life* operations and the individuals associated with the magazine. Of particular interest are Spencer's descriptions of Henry Luce and events associated with Luce and his magazines. Spencer was allowed access to most of the magazine's files — he was also able to interview many of the individuals central to *Life*'s founding and success. In this sense his account reads much like an ethnographic 'thick description.'

Norman Moyes' 1966 dissertation at Syracuse University, "Major Photographers and the Development of Still Photography in Major American Wars," is a descriptive narrative organized around the usual technological determinism and "great man" rational actor models. Beginning with the Civil War and progressing through World War II, each chapter of Moyes' dissertation is devoted to a different war and how American news-oriented photography functioned under the circumstances of a particular war. Moyes details technology, training, problems such as censorship, and the types of organizations sending photographers into combat — however, the bulk of his historic descriptions concern the combat photographers themselves and their experiences in combat. Although Moyes does not involve himself in comparative analysis, comparisions are implicit. It is left to the reader to decipher from the series of narratives the continuities and discontinuities between photographic operations in one war era and those in another war era. These continuities and discontinuities are most valuable, if one is able to root them out of the narrative.

Raymond Smith Schuneman's 1966 dissertation out of the University of Minnesota, "The Photograph in Print: An Examination of New York Daily Newspapers, 1890-1937," is the most analytical of the four dissertations — it is the only work that utilizes the quantitative method of content analysis. It is also the only historical treatment of news photography that is focused on newspaper rather than magazine photography. Schuneman avoids structuring his work around the models of technological determinism and the 'great man' rational actor, although both models are implicit in his analysis along with an organizational model (how standard operating procedures in a news operation influenced the number and types of pictures used in print over the years).

Schuneman's study is an analysis of trends based on the photographic content of 11 New York City daily newspapers published from 1890 to 1937. His numerous categories ranged from whether a published photograph had been manipulated by hand art to visual content of photographs (crime, feature, sports, etc.). Careful logical postivists would probably fault Schuneman for providing no reliability check on his coding — Schuneman apparently did not concern himself with intra- or inter-coder reliability. Therefore, one could easily question the reliability and validity of his study. Still, many of his categories appear to be so obvious (such as whether a print is a halftone or not) that it is probably safe to assume much of his results are reasonably accurate. Schuneman's analysis is limited to New York newspapers in a certain period, devoid of in-depth narrative description, and stuck in part on the 'great man' approach and technological determinism like so many other works in photographic history. However, despite these drawbacks, Schuneman's historical treatment of news photography deserves praise because it is an analysis of change — of process — that does not rely on the story-telling techniques of narrative chronology.

The last of the four dissertations discussed here is the only one to be produced in the last decade. "Emigre Photography in America: Contributions of German Photojournalism From Black Star Picture Agency to *Life* Magazine, 1933-1938," was produced in 1983 by C. Zoe Smith at the University of Iowa. Smith analyzes the influence which German emigre photographers had in the origin, early organization, and staff operations of the Black Star Picture Agency in New York City as well as *Life* magazine. She devotes more than 250 pages to the analysis of a five-year period. Smith, like Schuneman, does not use descriptive narrative and avoids technological determinism. Smith's interpretive model for most of her work appears to be an "interpersonal influence" model. She details the relationships among various historical actors, and through this is able to closely track where ideas originated that led to *Life* becoming such an important photographic medium in so short a time. In addition, she appears to be the only scholar who has detailed the history of a picture agency.

Journal Articles Devoted to Photojournalism

Only a handful of scholarly articles have been produced that focus on the history of photojournalism, and, while some of the articles break the standard interpretive mold, many of these articles are organized according to the same interpretive models outlined in earlier discussions of this work. The only major difference between most of the journal articles and many of the works cited earlier is the brevity of the journal articles. Six scholarly journals — those journals in the United States thought to be most likely to publish historical accounts of photojournalism — were perused from their first issues up to the present (or when publication ceased) for articles focused on photojournalism history. An abundance of articles focused on photojournalism history was found in *none* of the journals.

In two of the journals, *Journalism Monographs* and *Media Culture & Society*, apparently no articles focused on photojournalism history have been published. The journal *Media History Digest* has through the years published only two articles related to news photography; neither can be considered a substantive historical account. The first, published in the summer of 1983, is a three-page anecdotal narrative of how Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal made his famous World War II photograph of the Marine Corps flag raising on Iwo Jima. The second article, published in the fall of 1986, is a five-page narrative outlining Mathew Brady's relationship with Abraham Lincoln.[19]

Journalism History has published only two articles dealing with aspects of the history of photojournalism.

The first is a three-page article presented in the winter of 1978. The short narrative details how President Franklin Roosevelt dictated the way his image appeared in print. While related to practices of news photography, the article does not directly detail elements of photojournalism. The second is an article by C. Zoe Smith published in the spring of 1986. It is a six-page distillation of a chapter of her dissertation.[20] The international quarterly, *History of Photography*, rarely publishes articles devoted to the history of photojournalism. In more than a decade of publication, only five articles were published which are related to photojournalism. Three of the five articles deal with war photography; two focus on particular photojournalists. All five are organized around the 'great man' interpretive model.[21]

Studies in Visual Communication published a total of only two articles which deal somewhat with the history of photojournalism, but at least each of the articles breaks out of the molds of the "great man" approach and technological determinism and instead centers on models of political economy and cultural history. Dan Schiller's "Realism, Photography and Journalistic Objectivity in 19th Century America," published in the winter of 1977, is an analysis, not a narrative story, of how "photographic realism" affected certain nineteenth-century sociocultural trends in America — in particular the notion of "objectivity" in journalism. Hanno Hardt and Karin Ohrn's "The Eyes of the Proletariet: The Worker-Photography Movement in Weimar Germany," published in the fall of 1981, is a short but detailed narrative history of the German worker-photography movement during the 1920s and early 1930s, especially as it related to the*Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung* magazine. Instead of detailing technological changes and 'great men,' the two University of Iowa mass communication professors describe the political and social contexts which led to the rise and fall of the German worker-photography movement.[22]

In its more than sixty years of publication, *Journalism Quarterly* has published fifty-seven articles concerning aspects of news photography — a little less than one article a year. Of those, eight deal with the history of photojournalism — an average of about one article every eight years. Three of the eight articles were published in the September 1947 issue, an issue devoted to aspects of photojournalism. All three are historical narratives which detail for the most part technological progress and 'great men,' and none of the authors was an historian. Robert Girvin, a *Life* magazine editor, and Daniel Mich, a *Look* magazine editor, each wrote one of the articles. Only one of the three was written by a trained scholar, University of Missouri journalism professor Clifton Edom.[23]

Three more of the eight articles were published in the years 1964 and 1965. Each is a short narrative written by a mass communication scholar. While the 'great man' approach and technological determinism are evident in all three articles, other interpretive models are used as well. For example, Werner Severin, in his "Cameras with a Purpose: The Photo-journalists of F.S.A.," appears to use a sort of "influential actor within an institutional framework" model in order to outline how photojournalism may have been influenced by the FSA project — he details how many of the government photographers brought social documentary photography to the illustrated magazines. R. Smith Schuneman's "Art or Photography" is based in part on an organizational or occupational model. He describes how it was difficult for editors in the 1890s to break out of the "old" system of illustration and accept photography in print. Robert Kahan's article is similar to Schuneman's in approach.[24] The last two of the eight articles were published in the 1980s. Robert Kahan and J. B. Colson's "More than Art: P. H. Emerson as 19th Century Photojournalism Pioneer" is a typical "great man" biographical sketch. However, C. Zoe Smith's "An Alternative View of the 30s: Hine's and Bourke-White's Industrial Photos," published earlier in the decade, is an interesting comparision of Hine and Bourke-White's photography of men and machines. Smith uses the 'great man' approach within a sociocultural framework and comes up with an interesting descriptive analysis.[25]

After considering the body of historical writings about photojournalism, it is obvious that most of the treatments are narrative descriptions of personages, their contributions, and the technology they used. It is obvious that the historical fallacy of presentism underlies much of the historical writings about photojournalism. In addition, many of the writings are lacking depth and tend to be fragmented. Social and cultural contexts have usually been excluded from these historical works — there has been hardly any treatment of political ideology and cultural values as they relate to photography. Organizational structures as they relate to the production of photographic communication have largely been overlooked. Assumed by most writers of these histories has been a transmission model of photographic communication — the news photograph is seen as an objective snatch of reality, not as a complex production of denotative as well as connotative meanings. Most studies have been concened with magazine photojournalism — newspaper photography as an historical subject is almost unheard of, probably because the 'great man' approach does not work well in the historical study of newspaper photojournalism. Quantitative methods have rarely been employed. Followed for the most part have been traditional methods and techniques — usually the writing of a descriptive narrative based on archival records (collecting memoirs, papers, diaries, collections of photographs, etc.). Systematic analysis has for the most part been avoided.

New Approaches

It is fair to say that the human and the machine are situated in a complex social and cultural web. In short, all man-made images are socially constructed — news photographs are certainly no exception. The 'great man' approach and technological determinism tend to present only a narrow range of historical interpretation; structure and context are generally excluded from histories centered on those models. The new approaches presented on the following pages address structure and context.[26]

Scholars such as Richard Christopherson and Barbara Rosenblum have studied photographers as an occupational group — as part of a larger social organization. Christopherson has focused on the status of fine art photographers in the art world while Rosenblum, using ethnography, has concentrated on how occupational settings influence three "styles" of photography — news, advertising and fine art. Neither of the scholars was writing history, but their use of occupational and organizational sociological models could be adapted by the historian of photojournalism.[27] The historian could amass a great deal of data which could be used in an interpretive framework centered on occupational and organizational models. Otha Spencer's dissertation, "Twenty Years of *Life*," was in part organized in such a fashion, as was R. Smith Schuneman's dissertation.

Standard source material such as memoirs, diaries and journals, business records, assignment sheets, and departmental memos could be analyzed in relation to the final product — how and what type of photographs were actually presented in print.[28] Oral history could be employed; interviews with those who staffed newspaper and magazine photographic departments could provide insight into operations for much of the twentieth century. Environments could be scrutinized — for example, the layout of buildings which housed news staffs. And, once data had been collected from a rich variety of sources, comparisions could be made. In other words, a form of an organizational model could be employed. How did occupational roles and organizational structures of, say, daily and weekly newspapers differ in a given time and space? How did the roles and structures of national magazines and daily newspapers differ? How did this affect the final product? Comparisions of one particular operation in different time frames could be made as well. How did structures change from decade to decade within one organization?

In addition, the organizational model could be used in other ways. The mass media organization could be viewed as one facet of "a broader and complex industry system" which itself could be considered one "large-scale" organization. An historical analysis using the organizational model could analyze how "competitors, suppliers, distributors and regulators ... shaped" and were "shaped by" a mass medium's use of news photography.[29] Reese Jenkins, in his book *Images and Enterprise*, uses an organizational model. Jenkins' book is a history of the photographic industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He tracks not only changes in photographic technology, but the evolution and relationships of social organizations and institutions such as Eastman Kodak and the motion picture companies. While 'great men' and technology are central to much of his discourse, just as important are corporate and industrial structures and the business and cultural climate they were situated in.[30] An approach similar to Jenkins' could be used in historical treatments of photojournalism. In a sense, photojournalism is an industry — the corporate structure allocates resources which make it possible for the 'production' of news photographs. And other social organizations — in particular governmental organizations — influence the practice of news photography. Individuals may 'take' the pictures, but economic and political structures establish the environment which make the occupational role of photojournalist possible, as well as notions of what images should be 'taken' and how.

Cultural context also needs to be considered in photojournalism history. One of the best examples of cultural history as it relates to mass communication is American Studies historian William Stott's *Documentary Expression and Thirties America*,published in 1973. Stott writes a book about America in the 1930s that is "part literary analysis, part cultural history."[31] Stott considers all organized intellectual and artistic expression in the 1930s as one gigantic cultural text. He compares and contrasts electronic and print media reportage in words and images, social science writings, literature, film, and work produced under the direction of federal agencies. He considers all of these expressive forms to be cultural artifacts, and sees a commonality among all. Stott sees the numerous expressive behaviors in American society of the 1930s as manifestations of a changed American culture. He assumes one can explore this new cultural terrain primarily through its cultural artifacts. While Stott does not deal directly with photojournalism, he does show how cultural values are manifested in the subjective elements of photographs by examining Walker Evans' images in the book *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Stott sees dominant cultural perspectives permeating a society at a given time and expressed in a variety of ways through various productions of meaning.

Analyzing news photographs as cultural artifacts — as manifestations of norms and values which permeate a society at a given period in history — could lead to some important insights. But how can one systematically analyze news photography throughout history? Perhaps a combination of semiological analysis and content analysis could be employed.[32] Categories would need to be devised that would be not only mutually exclusive, exhaustive and reliable, but at the same time go beyond the manifest content of images. In order to construct such a method, the concept of "code" would need to be given careful consideration. Roland Barthes writes that there are two types of messages in a photographic image — a denoted (natural and iconic) message and a connoted (cultural and arbitrary) message. According to Barthes, codes are found in the connotative aspects of a photograph, and these codes are governed by culture:

> Connotation, the imposition of second meaning on the photographic message proper, is realized at the different levels of the production of the photograph (choice, technical treatment, framing, layout) ...the code of connotation (is) in all likelihood neither "natural" nor "artificial" but historical, or, if it be preferred, "cultural." Its signs are gestures, attitudes, expressions, colours or effects, endowed with certain meanings by virtue of the practice of a certain society ...[33]

Therefore, the code or codes of news photography would be indicated through *how* images are regularly presented (layout, framing, angle of vision and such) as well as *what* is regularly presented within images (human gestures, expressions, types of objects and people, etc.). As long as the historian is well-grounded in the cultural norms and values of given historical periods, there is no reason why "how images are presented" (the syntagmatic level of form) and "what is presented in images" (the paradigmatic level of content) could not be systematically analyzed through content analysis. Comparative studies between media or of the same medium over successive historical time periods could be based on such a semiological/ content analysis method. For example, one could compare the presentations of photographs in illustrated magazines with those of daily newspapers in one particular time period or over successive time periods.

One could compare different "styles" of photography, as Rosenblum phrases it. For example, there appear to be three basic types of photography that have been used consistently in twentieth-century American mass media: news, documentary and advertising. What are the basic codes of these three? How did the boundaries between the codes of news, documentary, and advertising photography in the mass media originate? How and why have these boundaries shifted in the twentieth century? Questions such as these might be answered in part by a comparative approach utilizing a semiological/content analysis method. Of course, other models and methods would also need to be employed. It is obvious that on a basic level, code boundaries are surely influenced by organizational structures — newsroom deadlines, for example, must impact news photography presented in daily newspapers. Thus, the semiological/content analysis method would need to be used in conjunction with occupational and organizational models as well as traditional research methods.

Any analysis of codes, it would seem, would also need to address ideological forces in a society during a given time period. John Berger writes that:

> A photograph is already a message about the event it records. ... The photograph is an automatic record through the mediation of light of a given event: yet it uses the *given* event

> to *explain* its recording. ... The language in which photography deals is the language of events. ... Every photograph is in fact a means of testing, confirming and constructing a total view or reality. Hence the crucial role of photgraphy in ideological struggle.[34]

Berger sees photographs as important and powerful transmitters of ideology. Other cultural critics of photography such as Barthes, William Ivins and Walter Benjamin have made similar points. Benjamin, for example, in his discussion of the "exhibition value" of photography, notes how Atget's photographs "become standard evidence for historical occurrences and aquire a hidden political significance."[35]

In considering ideology, a neomarxist perspective centered around Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony could be one useful theoretical framework in an historical study of photographic codes in photojournalism.[36] On a connotative level, mass media photographs, as displays of cultural conventions, may serve to reinforce the dominant ideology of a time period. In other words, in certain contexts news photographs might well be tools of hegemony. How do news photographs in a given time period reflect and, of more importance, *reinforce* the social, moral and cultural values (and political and economic positions) of the dominant in society? Use of the methods and models outlined earlier in conjunction with a well-defined theory of ideology and culture could perhaps provide a viable answer to this question.

In closing, it appears that historical research and writing in American photojournalism could progress along many new scholarly fronts. Perhaps the new approaches outlined in this paper could help photojournalism historiography detach from the 'whig interpretation' of history. To reiterate, it is obvious that the 'great men' have been well-documented in histories about photojournalism. And changes in technology as they relate to news photography have been described repeatedly in historical treatments. Many *stories* have been told, but the *processes* and *structures* have yet to be detailed. It is time for analyses of social and cultural structures and processes to take their place along with whig interpretations in historical treatments of photojournalism.

Notes

[1] Tim Gidal, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (New York: Collier Books, 1973), 5.

[2] Frank Luther Mott, *News in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), 171.

[3] Arthur Rothstein, *Photojournalism: Pictures for Magazines and Newspapers* (New York: American Photographic Book Publishing Co., 1950), 1. The terms 'news photography' and 'photojournalism' are used interchangeably in this work, as are the terms 'photojournalist' and 'news photographer.' The terms apply to both magazine and newspaper photography unless otherwise noted.

[4] James Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1 (Spring 1974): 3. Whig journalism history is when media historians record the past as a series of progressive steps leading to the present. Institutions, events and personages are usually documented in narrative form.

[5] Richard Christopherson, "Making Art with Machines: Photography's Institutional Inadequacies," *Urban Life and Culture* 3 (April 1974): 10-11.

[6] John D. Stevens and Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Communication History* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980), 24-25.

[7] Alan Trachtenberg, ed., *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven, Conn.: Leete's Island Books, 1980), vii.

[8] Concerning the general histories of photography as well as some of the more specific treatments of photojournalism, an assumption central to this work is that the most-cited historical writings are usually the most influential. In other words, the authors of the well-known works tend to set the standards of historical research and writing in the particular area of study their works address. Therefore, while the analysis of historical works in this article might not be exhaustive in some respects, every attempt has been made to include what are the most-important historical writings, identified primarily through how often the writings have been cited in footnotes and bibliographies. The general histories analyzed are of this well-known variety.

[9] Narrative history — the presentation of content in story form through organizing material in a chronologically sequential order — has been severely criticized by many scholars of history and literature in the past two decades. The central criticisms usually are that narratives are simply descriptive, not analytical; narratives detail people and events, not processes and structures; and interpretive models are not explicitly discussed in narratives — the interpretive framework is implicit in the story form so that the narrative history may appear to be 'objective' simply be-cause interpretive strategies are not discussed. For more information on criticisms of narrative history, see Roland Barthes, "Historical Discourse," in *Structuralism: A Reader*, M. Lane, ed. (London, 1970),149-154; Larry Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflection on a New Old History," in *Past and Present* 85 (1979): 3-24; Lionel Gossman, "History and Literature: Reproduction or Signification," in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Under-standing*, R. Canary and H. Kozicki, eds. (Madison, 1978), 3-39; and L. B. Cebik, "Understanding Narrative Theory," *History and Theory* 25: 58-81.

[10] Richard Christopherson, "From Folk Art to Fine Art," *Urbanm Life and Culture* 3 (July 1974): 138-141.

[11] The Historiographic term 'presentism' will be used repeatedly in this work. Presentism as a problem in historical research and writing has been described best by historian David H. Fischer: "The fallacy of presentism ... is the mistaken idea that the proper way to do history is to prune away the dead branches of the past, and to preserve the green buds and twigs which have grown into the dark forest of our contemporary world." Therefore, presentism is a problem because it skews history — the only significant historical events become those which have contributed to the present reality. Fisher writes that presentism is practiced most often by people who have *not* been trained as historians, which, as we shall see, is the case with much of the historical work about photojournalism. See Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), 135-144. The "fallacy of presentism," which is sometimes labeled the "Whig inter-pretation of history," has particularly been identified as a problem in mass communications his-tory. See Stevens and Dicken-Garcia's *Communication History* for the best overall historio-graphic analysis of presentism in mass communications history.

[12] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present* 5th ed. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982),7.

[13] Robert F. Berkhofer, *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 283-285.

[14] This is part of the statement printed on the back cover of Jeffrey's book (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

[15] Ibid., 9.

[16] Ibid.,156.

[17] Whether corporate authors have influenced the historical writings presented in the Time-Life books is an interesting question, but answering it would involve analysis beyond the scope of this work.

[18] There are numerous other treatments of photjournalism which can be placed in this category of photojournalism history. Other works include Maitland Edey and Constance Sullivan's *Great Photographic Essays from Life* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1978); Clifton Edom's *Photojournalism: Principles and Practices* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1980); Daniel Mich's *The Technique of the Picture Story* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1945); and Ken Kobre's *Photojournalism: The Professional's Approach* (Somerville, Mass.: Curtin and London, Inc., 1980). There are many more of these works than those cited in this paper, but their treatments of photojournalism history all are quite similar to those cited. They all tend to be organized around the same interpretive models metioned earlier in this paper.

[19] John S. Bodkin, "Great Pictures: The Story behind Joe's Iwo Jima," *Media History Digest* 3 (Summer 1983); and Conceita Garistina, "Lincoln's Lensman: Mathew Brady," *Media History Digest* 6 (Fall 1986).

[20] Betty H. Winfield, "F.D.R.'s Pictorial Image: Rules and Boundaries," *Journalism History* 5 (Winter 1978-79): 110-113; C. Zoe Smith, "Black Star Picture Agency: Life's European Connection," *Journalism History* 13 (Spring 1986): 19-25.

[21] Peter Robinson, "Canadian Photojournalism During the First World War," *History of Photography* 2 (January 1978): 37-52; Peter Palmquist, "Photographing the Modoc Indian War," *History of Photography* 2 (July 1978): 187-205; Bradley Williams, "Charles F. Lummis: Crusador with a Camera," *History of Photography* 5 (July 1981): 207-221; William Main, "Photographic Reportage of the New Zealand Wars," *History of Photography* 5 (April 1981): 105-116; and Jerald R. Green, "Alfonso: Spain's Premier Photojournalist," *History of Photography* 11 (July-September 1987): 189-211.

[22] Dan Schiller, "Realism, Photography and Journalistic Objectivity in 19th Century America," *Studies in Visual Communication* 4 (Winter 1977): 86-98; Hanna Hardt and Karin Ohrn, "The Eyes of the Proletariet: The worker-Photography Movement in Weimar Germany," *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (Fall 1981): 72-83.

[23] Clifton Edom, "Photo Propaganda: The History of its Development," pp. 221-226; Robert Givrin, "Photography as Social Documentation," pp. 207-220; and Daniel Mich, "The Rise of Photo-Journalism in the United States," pp. 202-206, *Journalism Quarterly* 24 (September 1947).

[24] Werner Severin, "Camera's with a Purpose: The Photojournalists of F.S.A.," *Journalism Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1964): 191-200; R. Smith Schuneman, "Art or Photography: A Question for Newspaper Editors of the 1890s," pp. 43-52, and Robert Kahan, "Photography Begins: An Editorial Negative," pp. 53-59, *Journalism Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1965).

[25] Robert Kahan and J. B. Colson, "More than Art: P. H. Emerson as 19th Century Photojournalism Pioneer," *Journalism Quarterly* 63 (1986), pp. 75-82; and C. Zoe Smith, "An Alternative View of the '30s: Hine's and Bourke-White's Industrial Photos," *Journalism Quarterly* 60 (1983), 305-310.

[26] Perhaps the phrase "New Approaches" is misleading — the interpretive models to be presented are for the most part not new. They have been used in media and historical studies for some time. However, they have not been applied to the historical study of photojournalism.

[27] See Christopherson, "Making Art with Machines"; and Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1978).

[28] More on the analysis of photographs in print will be presented later in this work.

[29] Paul M. Hirsch, "Occupational, Organizational and Institutional Models in Mass Media Research: Toward an Integrated Framework," in Hirsh, Peter Miller And Gerald Kline, eds., *Strategies of Communication Research* (Sage Annual Reviews, vol. 6), 27-29.

[30] Reese V. Jenkins, *Images and Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry, 1839 to 1925* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1975). While occa-sionally mired in detailed descriptions of technology, Jenkin's book is useful as a model of how to organize an historical account of social institutions related to photography.

[31] William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (University of Chicago Press, 1973), ix.

[32] Scholars of advertising have been successful in using a combined semiological/content analysis approach. See, for example, William Leiss, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising* (New York: Methuen Publications, 1986); and Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).

[33] Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in *The Camera Viewed: Writings on Twentieth Century Photography* vol. II, Peninah Petruck, ed., (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979), 192, 198.

[34] John Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, Alan Trachtenberg, ed., 292-294.

[35] Walter Benjamin, "Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *The Camera Viewed: Writings on Twentieth Century Photography* vol. I, Peninah Petruck, ed., (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979)., 270-271.

[36] Much fascinating theoretical work is being produced by Cultural Studies scholars in this area. See, for example, Stuart Hall, "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structural Debates," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2 (June 1985).

AN EXEMPLARY LADY OF THE PRESS: ISHBEL ROSS ENGENDERS A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR NEWSPAPERWOMEN ON THE MALE-DOMINATED CITY DESK OF THE 1920S

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A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR NEWSPAPERWOMEN

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AN EXEMPLARY LADY OF THE PRESS: ISHBEL ROSS ENGENDERS A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR NEWSPAPERWOMEN ON THE MALE-DOMINATED CITY DESK OF THE 1920S

> The women reporter really has to be a paradox. She must be ruthless at work . . . gentle in private life . . . not too beguiling to dazzle the men and disrupt the work . . . comradely with the male reporters . . . able to take the noise and pressure and rough language of the city room without showing disapproval or breaking into tears under the strain of rough criticism. She must do her own work, asking no help or pampering, and make no excuses.[1]
>
> -- Marion Marzolf
> Up From the Footnote

She was a paradoxical person: gentle in her private life, ruthless at her work. Reporter Ishbel Ross, a small, sturdy Scotswoman of large dignity[2] who worked at the New York Herald Tribune during the 1920s and early 1930s, managed to gain some respect for women reporters in the newsroom by setting her own agenda. She measured up to the standards of her male colleagues by seeming to be one of the boys while still being thought of as a woman. She made the boys of the newsroom believe that she followed the following agenda: it was all right to be as good as any male journalist "as long as a newspaperwoman remembered to act like a woman." Because, above all, Ishbel Ross was a pragmatist. And, that is not a paradox.

Frank Waters, who was a copy boy when Ross was a city-side reporter, said he recalls her as "a quiet, dignified, considerate woman with a high degree of competency."[3] George Cornish, a former co-worker at the Herald Tribune said she was uncomplaining "like a man." Indeed, as Ross has noted, the highest compliment a women reporter of the time could receive was that her work was just "like a man's," especially if the compliment came from a city editor. Ross said that this automatically gave the women reporters a complacent glow, for they were all cognizant that "no right-minded editor wants the so-called woman's touch in the news."[4]

She apparently read her the attitudes of her male colleagues very well because Cornish predicated his "like a man" statement with an additional stereotypical comment about her femininity, while verbally juggling what he called "the women's angle" to the news. He said:

> Ask any man who worked with Ishbel Ross on the newspaper, he will have nothing but positive things to say. Ishbel was one of the first New York women reporters -- perhaps the first -- who was never confined to the 'women's angle' type of story. She was in appearance and manner extremely feminine, but on a story she asked no favors of anyone.[5]

That is, her competency was linked to their definitions of manhood. "Asking no favors" and "being uncomplaining" were perceived by her colleagues as her possessing male attributes. Somehow, she managed to gain not only their tolerance but their goodwill, through what they described her "dignity," "quietness" and "consideration," which they perceived as female attributes. Somehow, she managed to use to her benefit the stereotypical thinking that often confines women to the coverage of certain kinds of news -- even today. Somehow, she extended "A Bill of Rights" to women on the city desk.

Ross played the role so well that the males in the newsroom found her unapproachable; definitely more so than Emma Bugbee, the other woman reporter in the newsroom at Herald Tribune, with whom the political writers liked to talk about the devious ways of politicians.[6] In The Paper, an inclusive history of the Herald Tribune, Richard Kluger writes that the towering assistant night editor from Texas, L.L. Engelking (or Engel, as he preferred to be called), was "slightly intimidated by the cool, correct, and superbly reliable Miss Ross, little as she was."[7] This is a reversal of the usual state of affairs.

Ross learned that some of the decision-making in the newsroom worked against women only because they were part of an unknown equation. There were too few of them working in the city room to make a comparison to their male counterparts. Newsmen were trying to figure out if they should treat a newspaperwoman like "a lady" or "one of the boys." India McIntosh, who came to the Herald Tribune around the time Ross left it, said although attitudes were beginning to change, she faced the same kind of dilemma. She did not get the top stories because women were not thought to be capable of handling such sophisticated assignments. McIntosh said, at the same time, the general-assignment woman was oftentimes joshed, instructed and bawled out in the same manner as a man.[8] Any misstep, unmeasured though it be by experience, might forever make her a pariah in the newsroom.

These attitudes plagued the newspaperwomen of the 1920s -- and even the 1930s -- who had yet to establish themselves, because they had to deal with people like city editors, who could open doors for them, or just as easily close them. The women reporter's opportunity was often tied to misconceptions on her editor's part. Ross said:

> The city editor -- chivalrous soul -- keeps her down for two reasons: he doubts her capacity, and he hates to throw her to the wolves in the rough and tumble of big news events. He handles her with kid gloves when she wouldn't object to brass knuckles. He would rather she went home and never bothered him again.[9]

Kluger writes on the same subject about Ross on the job. Mainly, Ross had to worry about wolves of a different kind:

> In the office, she as always a lady as well as a woman, always "Miss Ross" and never "Ishbel" to them, though they were not averse to casting a sideways glance at her ankles whenever she sat cross-legged in one of the little phone booths scattered around the city room and neglected to close the door.[10]

Kluger no doubt draws upon the "telephone booth" anecdote from Walter Hamsher, who wrote in the same vein 50 years after Ross left the newsroom. Hamsher said that one of the features of the city room during Ross' time there were the telephone booths scattered around the city room (which was on the fifth floor) for the use of reporters in getting stories. Phones had not yet been installed at all the desks.[11] Hamsher said that he first noticed Ross in one of these booths:

> Like all reporters, she did most of her work in getting stories on the phone. Maybe not most, but certainly much. Ishbel was an attractive woman, and all the males were happy to see her in the phone booth because there she would sit with her legs crossed showing very gorgeous silk stockinged legs. She seldom closed the door of the booth, so that when she was called to the phone to get a story, it was usually an occasion for many of the city room wolves to sit and stare.[12]

FIRST AMENDMENT:

Establishing a Certain Distance

On the other hand, Ross knew that the newspaperwoman could not show she noticed any of the attention, nor could she -- perish the thought -- stare at any of the men. Ross said a woman reporter had to effect a certain distance. If she were "too beguiling," dazzling the cub reporters and starting the copy boys to write poems, "her stock begins to go down."[13] Ross writes in Ladies of the Press, "Trouble, beauty and sex are threats in any city room, and the three can telescope remarkably quickly into one."[14]

The value of a good women reporter, however, in Ross' words, had little to do with her outer shell; "The shrinking ones are often the lion-hearted -- a feather may rock the Amazon":[15]

> The best women reporters were once on the frowsy side. This is no longer true, although here and there a brainy girl [sic] may scorn the details

> of her costume. But the effect created by a group of women reporters today is one of good grooming, personality and poise. They have lost their distraught look somewhere along the years.[16]

Citing the kind of newspaperwoman she favored, Ross apparently spoke of herself when she said a newspaperwoman might be "a scholar who labors over polished phrases."[17] But Ross apparently calls upon editors to recognize diversity when she says a newspaperwoman might be "a rough and tumble slang expert who jollies the bailiff": "Sometimes she is small, demure and savage; sometimes big, brassy and soft-hearted. One never can tell. She may wear pearls and orchids, be a debutante and sport a title, or shuffle along, a weary beldame with faded hair."[18] Ross urged editors to go beyond the stereotypes, to exercise tolerance. Her whole point is that a newspaperwoman, like a newspaperman, comes in all shapes and sizes. Therefore, assumptions made about the capabilities and personalities of one can not be generalized to all women in the profession.

A Ross contemporary, Mary Margaret McBride, who began writing at the tabloid The New York Evening Mail, also testified to the necessity of exhibiting a certain demeanor while around the males in the newsroom. McBride specifically refers to Emma Bugbee. McBride said she learned from Bugbee to "wear a noncommittal smile even when everything was going against me" in covering a story.[19]

In the newsroom, it was ever "Miss Bugbee," as it was ever "Miss Ross." Bugbee smiled while she covered fashion shows, flower shows and the circus. Bugbee gained a certain satisfaction from covering the women's movement but she kept her comments to herself. She sometimes, however, wrote editorials on women in the news. She rarely wrote a story for the first page, but she occasionally covered stories for the city desk, including the American visits of Lady Astor and Madame Curie. Ross said Bugbee once spent "an eerie night at Roosevelt Field with Mrs. Bert Acosta and the other flier's wives, waiting for Commander Richard E. Byrd to take off on the record-breaking trans-Atlantic flight."[20] One Bugbee's early assignments was a stunt suggested by then-city editor Robert MacAlarney, a trip in an armored plane.[21] We know this was early in Bugbee's 50-plus year stint at the paper because MacAlarney left the Tribune in 1916.[22]

Bugbee must have discovered a formula for acceptance. Her situation at the paper was unique for its sheer longevity. She saw many city editors come and go on the Herald Tribune during her half century there. Ross said in her Ladies of the Press Bugbee had certain annual stories which she had not missed in more years than most women reporters have held jobs. And, Ross wrote that in 1936. Bugbee would work at the Herald Tribune into the 1960s.

Some of those annual stories wwere the cat shows and circus stopovers. Ross said, "In spring Bugbee's desk is buried under flowers when the annual flower show comes along."[23] Besides covering national women's news, all the club women knew her. Bugbee took no exception to being assigned to cover the so-called "women's angle." She liked women. She worked on their behalf. She tried to extend their coverage in her own way.

But Ross was McBride's choice for best all-around newspaperwoman. McBride once said, "There was something reassuring and solid about Ishbel's clear, honest gaze and her forthright manner."[24] She added: "If I had picked one reporter to change places with, I think it would have been Ishbel Ross."[25] She ranked Ross even above Julia Harpman, who worked on the Daily News. Harpman was admired almost universally by the other women reporters after she planted herself next to a suspected murderer and eavesdropped upon his conversation -- just to get the story.[26]

Ross in turn had her own heroines. She emulated Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine because she possessed "a forthright manner" that left none in doubt of where she stood[27] -- a trait other people saw in Ross. Of course, during the time, there were few women in politics to write about. For years and years, as Ross noted, only two women stayed the course with distinction in Congress. Besides Senator Smith, there was Representative Frances P. Bolton of Ohio. In an allusion to the capability of women sounding hauntingly like her own newsroom experience, Ross writes that because of these two "the men who sit in Congress have had to acknowledge that the exceptional woman can work harmoniously at their side."[28] Ross likewise obviously worked toward cultivating good relationships with the men on the paper. She once wrote that it was very important to be accepted as part of the newspaper picture.[29]

Kluger uses another so-called male term to describe Ross: aggressive. He said, "In the field, she could be as aggressive as necessary but was rarely more so."[30] He implies that her aggressiveness was controlled. It is interesting that none of her male contemporaries speak about this aggressiveness. Of course, as Kluger said, she "acted like a lady" in the newsroom.

One wonders if Kluger is really talking about persistence when he refers to aggressiveness in Ross. McBride -- for one -- effected a similar stance of confidence, pointing out that the newspaperwomen had to persevere to get the story. McBride said, "You might be a coward off your job, but even the puniest woman would push through fire lines, walk proudly into police cordons on an assignment."[31] Of course, McBride felt herself to be "a poor flimsy thing" compared to those with real push, like Ishbel. McBride said: "Yet one asset I had was determination. I agonized and apologized but I kept stumbling along, even when I had no real idea where I was going."[32] Determination was Ross' armor, but she rarely stumbled and never apologized for her work. It just was not her style.

SECOND AMENDMENT:

Facing Obstacles Squarely

Ross said, while out an assignment, nothing stops a women reporter when her assignment is of the first rank. She almost sounds like a public service announcement for the post office when she explains that nothing stands in a newspaperwoman's way: "neither storm, fire, frost, broken-down telegraph wires nor the rudeness of man."[33] She also ranked rebuff and abuse right up there with major obstacles the women reporter faces. However, she said the implacable reporter is solely bent on gaining her ends: "When the story is in the paper, she rarely remembers what she has suffered in the pursuit of the news. The excitement is its own anesthesia. Nothing is left but the afterglow."[34]

Ross believed women journalists must gain a certain equanimity, a kind of reporter's callous, if you well, to sustain them as they "face harsh facts without any qualms" in the newsroom as well as in the field. Specifically writing about the type of women who writes for the front page, she said, in Ladies of the Press:

> She must be ready for such hazards as may befall her. She must be calm and full of stamina. For she will savor strange bitters as well as alluring sweets; endure fatigue and disappointment beyond reason; withstand rebuffs that wither or exhilarate in turn; meet abuse with the equanimity born of self-control; and function with complete belief in what she is doing and loyalty to her paper.[35]

Ross, as a general-assignment reporter on the city desk, had to learn quickly and to act on the spur of the moment. As Walker pointed out, she approached the city desk not knowing whether she were going to be assigned to a fire, a story of a lost dog, or an obituary.[36] Ross said of the front-page reporter:

> She must have a sound sense of the values of life and great capacity to withstand the shocks of human emotion. She must see with clairvoyance, judgment or experience the salient points of any situation; be resourceful and good-natured; have initiative and enough perception to avoid being

> taken in. She must know how to get her facts, to weigh them with sagacity and, above all, how to write.[37]

McIntosh also said of the city-side woman reporter: "She covers the whole field of human relations, but she doesn't let the rough side of these things to get under her skin any more than a man does."[38]

Through all this persistence, determination, level-headedness (etc. and etc.), the newspaperwoman could succeed. Meanwhile, something uncanny was happening in the newsroom. By being visible, breaking the barriers in the newsroom, these few women were slowly changing minds about their competence. At the same time, change was not apparent to most them. They were too close to it. Ross could see it, but knew the dangers of speaking about rights in the male-dominated newsroom:

> I don't believe in the heady 1920s any of the press women thought that they might be important links in helping to raise the status of women. As always, the papers merely mirrored the prevailing attitudes of the community as a whole, and highlighted the unusual person or development. Except for the women who conducted social service campaigns for their papers or investigations, they were singularly lacking in the social consciousness that is so pervasive today.[39]

While in the newsroom, Ishbel Ross certainly kept her opinions about the status of women reporters to herself. She was content to let Bugbee be one of those few newspaperwomen of social consciousness that worked on the status of women in general. However, after Ross left the Herald Tribune, she acknowledged the difficult struggle a woman goes through to be accepted on the city desk. In Ladies of the Press (1936), Ross writes caustically, "The women who have gone fartherest in journalism are not those who have yipped most loudly about their rights."[40] She added, "Peace at any price is the city room philosophy."[41]

Ross said of the woman who wrote front-page news:

> Her demand to be treated as a man has echoed innumerable times in city rooms throughout the country. And all that she stood for is still regarded as a threat to the peace, honor and coziness of that sound haunt of masculinity -- the city room, practically as sacred to men as a stag club or the pre-Volstead saloon.[42]

This must have rankled her greatly because she also writes about the exclusion in Ladies of the Press:

> It is absurd to maintain that a woman can do everything a man can do on a paper. She can't get into the Lotus Club in New York, or cross the Harvard Club threshold. She is denied the chummy barroom conferences of the politician, and cannot very well invade a Senator's room in Washington when he has no time to answer her questions except as he changes for dinner.[43]

Ross writes that the exclusion agenda used against women reporters did not work so conclusively the other way. She said the only gender-specific exclusions male reporters encountered in the early 1930s were Eleanor Roosevelt's Monday morning conferences. Meanwhile, Ross writes, the males chafed when they had to cover such an assignment. She said: "The [male] youths who are picked for the pink tea assignments are welcomed with joy at the woman's meeting. It is a sad reflection for the woman reporter who swears by her sex that the most pampered scribe at feminine gatherings is usually a man -- and a man who would rather not be there."[44]

Of course, attending "women's functions" had been an onus to young men of the newspaper only a decade earlier when they were required to escort women reporters to meetings after 7 p.m.[45] Ross was tremendously troubled by these constraints put upon women. She maintained that the functions of the city staff could be almost always interchangeable for women and men. She said:

> A woman may cover a subway wreck and a man do a fashion show on the same afternoon with excellent results in both cases. A good reporter can do telling work with almost any set of facts, short of relativity. He need not be a specialist. He need not even be initiated.[46]

Likewise, the shipping news was covered by men. During the 1920s and 1930s, New York was the major port of call for the whole world. Therefore, the coverage of maritime arrivals and departures was extensive. Women were only called in for special interviews with particular individuals of note who may be arriving.[47] With these practices in mind, it is difficult to understand what Ross refers to when she writes to Marion Marzolf, "I cannot say that I even felt a sense of injustice or discrimination in my dealings with the men and women of the profession. Although competition was keen, there was always that touch of humor and bonhomie to dull the sharp edges."[48] Perhaps she means that she choose to concentrate on work, not on personalities. In the same letter to Marzolf, she writes:

> My own experience was with [the] conservative newspaper--The New York Tribune and then the Herald Tribune after the merger [in 1924], we were drilled in the importance of good writing and objective reporting rather than frenzied scoops, although no paper worth its salt has ever been indifferent to the exclusive story.[49]

The plain truth is that Ross did not particularize discrimination to her own situation. If she did, she did not share these problems with others. She could be more objective when she discussed the status of women reporters in general but due to her strict upbringing in Bonar Bridge, Scotland, she would not allow herself to complain about her own struggles for assignments. Family training had taught her that to complain on one's own behalf was not dignified.

Coupled with this family trait was Ross' uncanny ability to match herself to the person she was talking to. It was this situational self that made her a strong interviewer who could get to the heart of a story. McBride alludes to this trait in A Long Way From Missouri, a compelling autobiographical work about traveling the distance from J-school at Columbia to a major newspaper in the Big Apple. McBride said a good reporter -- to get the story -- could make even a murderer feel she were a best friend.[50] She no doubt alludes to Harpman here, and to the fact that Ross too was this kind of reporter. Famous people and people who think they were famous would open up to Ross, sharing with her the strictest of confidences.

THIRD AMENDMENT:

Challenging the Competition

The women reporters of New York learned to depend on each other even as each jealously guarded her little area of expertise. For instance, in a mass interview, the women reporters relied on Margeurite Mooers Marshall of the Evening World to fire the first question. McBride called Marshall her "special despair": "She seemed to care even less about clothes that the rest of us and usually her hat was perched on the extreme back of her head and in dire danger of becoming unmoored."[51]

In the interview Ross, McBride and the others took copious notes, but Marshall never took a single one -- and yet in her stories the statements, even statistics were correct.[52] Other women in the reporters' entourage were typically Harpman of the Daily News, Jane Dixon of the Telegram, Mildred Gilman of the Evening Journal, and Catherine Brody and Marian Spitzer of the Globe.[53]

McBride feared all the other women reporters on the evening papers. She envied -- more than feared -- Ross. McBride did not consider Ross her true competitor because her friend worked for a morning paper.[54] Their friendship developed into a lasting one. After they left their respective newspapers, Ross and McBride continued to visit each other throughout the subsequent decades. McBride concluded that professional competition was not an important item with Ross anyway, even though Ross said it was keenly felt. McBride asked how anyone could make that charge when Ross married her biggest competitor on many news stories, Bruce Rae of The New York Times?[55]

Unlike McBride, Ross apparently did not fear the capabilities of the other women reporters. Ross saw her true competitors as those, typically males, who wrote for the front page. She once said that women who worked on the major afternoon papers rarely were trusted with the lead on a front-page story, even though the newspapers played their women reporters to the limit in feature stories.[56] Ross also had tremendous faith in herself to write a factual and compelling account of events. She approached assignments with a sense of duty, almost deifying the stories to the level of "a higher calling" she had to meet.

Ross had found her calling. She would rather be what she called an anonymous creature, "a hard-working wretch" with no by-line who wrote for the front page. She would rather do this, than exchange her job for what she called "the softer road of feature writing."[57] She writes that the front-page newspaperwoman loves her work so much:

> She has the fantastic notion, shared by no one else, that an unsigned front-page story that passes through several thousand hands and soon lands in the gutter, most likely unread, is its own reward. The results are visible, immediate, alive -- at least to her. A few hours earlier she watched the scene, talked to the people about whom she writes. There is speed and flavor to this rapid transfer of thought. In another twenty-four hours she will scarcely find the story readable, so soon does the newspaper grow cold. But for the moment it possesses her imagination.[58]

Of course, there were little tricks of the trade the newspaperwomen practiced in interviewing, according to McIntosh. Sometimes a newspaperwoman would study up on what was considered a typically male subject (like horse racing), and so "WOW" (!) the males she interviewed that they would take "infinite patience" to explain the nuances to her. McIntosh said the newsmakers appreciated the effort put out by the woman reporter, but did not "expect her to be bright enough to swallow their story in the fast gulps meted out to men."[59]

Ross said the tabloid editors often exploited the feminine traits of their newspaperwomen, considering them "an ornamental touch" to their news operation. Again, she referred more so to the afternoon papers. The tabloids argued that face, figure and clothes help to make the sources open up to woman reporter.[60] The editors wanted their newspaperwomen to pass over that invisible barrier that separates news reporter and newsmaker. Reporter Imogene Stanley, for one, scored a great coup out in the field when she was wined and dined by the Prince of Wales on one of his visits to the states. Ross added that several "gorgeous peonies have bloomed among the typewriters and ticker machines" -- ironically, with no ill effect to their advancement in the profession.[61]

Ross does not criticize those newspaperwomen who resorted to this approach. Rather, Ross herself chose to remain circumspect in all her dealings with male co-workers and with the males she interviewed. Her personal relationships were carefully guarded as well. Although those attempting to research her life will find a dozen professional anecdotes about her life with Bruce Rae, they will be stymied in trying to discover the personal aspects of the marital relationship.

Ross believed any strategy utilized in getting the news could backfire on the newspaperwoman. However, affecting the posture of "poor little woman who needs the help of a big strong man" was often ill-advised.[62] Apparently, Stanley Walker, city editor at the Herald Tribune who worked with Bugbee and Ross, shared this view. Walker said that it was common

> . . . for a weasel in a stuffed shirt to telephone a city desk and complain about the manners, or the questions, or the clothing, or the general demeanor of a man reporter who had been sent out on a story; such complaints usually are laughed off, and go hard with the stuffed shirt. But when the case is somewhat parallel -- that is, when the bloated corset telephones to complain of the women reporter, the reaction of the desk very likely is the ancient groan: "Oh, hell! Another damn fool woman reporter has got us into a jam!"[63]

Another big trick of the trade highly utilized by Ross and Bugbee, and later McIntosh, was the biographical file of the New York Herald Tribune. McIntosh said: "The girl who doesn't step into the library before she goes out on assignment does a tremendous amount of harm to all newspaperwomen; she is a menace and there are too many of her."[64]

The library was so extensive by McIntosh's time on the paper, that it was housed in 1,000 steel drawers, having clippings dealing with 1,000,000 persons carefully indexed by name. The file also had 750 steel drawers with 4,000 stories, under 7,500 subdivisions, as well as a 20,000 cards cross-indexed filed by subject.[65] The library reportedly included 4,000 "carefully selected" books; an even larger library of pamphlets, government and otherwise, and several drawers of maps.[66] Ross no doubt used the library extensively because her first job on a newspaper was clerk in the library at the Toronto Daily News.

There were many other approaches to get the story, some which could aptly be called "ruses." McBride said her competition: "Naturally we never talked in this sentimental fashion to one another when we met on assignments. Mostly we didn't talk at all for fear of giving something away. We believed in scoops; and to get one, any of us would lie to his [her] best friends."[67] McBride further explains the real problems Ross and her counterparts shared in interviewing, not much different from the problems encountered by current reporters:

> In spite of all the people you found who were glad to talk for publication, you always believed that the next person wouldn't and then what would you do? When he did talk and was overeager about it, you were a little chilled for you saw him as a publicity seeker. Besides, you were afraid he'd [she'd] told the same story over and over to other reporters, plus some fascinating details he hadn't given to you. And you worried that the other reporters might handle the story better than you, anyway.[68]

McBride is on target here, but it is interesting that McBride does not speak of the male competition. The male reporters got the best assignments, that goes without saying. Ross writes in Ladies of the Press that often the front-page newspaperwoman will help her colleague with his story

> when he has been wooing the bottle, console him the night his sixth child is born, admire its picture a few weeks later, spur his ambition to write a great novel, or help him to buy a birthday present for his wife. She clucks over him like a mother hen. She nearly always like him. It never occurs to her that he stands in her way and keeps her from the best assignments.[69]

Ross apparently believed that the newspaperwoman had to prove herself more competent than her male counterpart to be considered equally capable in the newsroom. She once noted that some men work year after year for their papers and never actually write a line of copy. There were no parallel positions for the women in the newsroom of her time. Ross said the woman in the newsroom had to know how to write, and write well, better than most of her male counterparts to keep her job.[70] That translated into real terms that a male in the newsroom always had the final say over the copy turned in by the women reporter -- whether copy reader, the headline writer and even the typesetter. If there were "a women's angle" to the news, it surely would have been weeded out through the male perspective.

McBride often became frustrated with the unequal reward system in the newsroom. She said in A Long Way from Missouri: "You griped if everything wasn't as you'd hoped and you threatened to quit, too, but you didn't mean a word of it."[71] McBride, like Ross, felt fortunate that she was one of the few women in the newsroom. With women like Helen Rogers Reid of the Herald Tribune holding positions of leadership, however, the male-dominated newsroom was easier to bear.

FOURTH AMENDMENT:

Garnering Support, Friendship

When Ross was writing Ladies of the Press, she wrote about Reid. In Ladies Ross called the modest Reid one of the most prominent newspaperwomen in the country: "She rarely talks about herself, always about the paper. In recent years she has made a number of speeches but she avoids publicity whenever possible. She prefers to remain anonymous."[72] An indication of Ross' ability is that, even with the recalcitrant Reid, she was able to obtain an interview with someone who announced "I never give interviews."

Just seeing Reid in the city room gave Ross pleasure. Ross said she saw Reid almost daily, spanning a dozen years, at five o'clock in the afternoon,

> . . . just when the life in the city room of the New York Herald Tribune is beginning to quicken, a small figure, exquisitely groomed, may often be seen walking past the reporters' desks on her way to the office of the managing editor. This is Mrs. Ogden Reid, a quiet but potent force in New York journalism.[73]

As vice-president and advertising director of the paper, Ross said Reid had "more power than these positions ordinarily would convey": "Brief memoranda signed H.R.R. find their way to head of every department of the paper, but they rarely contain anything stronger than a gracefully worded suggestion. However, that is enough. They are instantly accepted as law."[74]

Reid rarely interfered with the editorial department. But, Ross said, as Reid passed the city desk, her glance traveled slowly from face to face: "It is a wise, perceiving look of singular concentration. She knows the history of all tne writers and desk men [and two women] within sight. She has an accurate idea of their capacity and usefulness to the paper."[75]

Ross was thankful for the confidence Reid placed in newspaperwomen by giving them positions of "the highest trust," especially because she as one of those women. Besides Bugbee in the newsroom and Ross on the city desk, women -- and only women -- managed the Herald Tribune's Sunday magazine and book review supplement. Ross said Reid urged the women of the profession to show more enterprise and to seek opportunity in all departments of a paper, even the mechanical side.[76]

What has been described to this point is Ross' long-view of her days at the city desk, through the perspectives of her male co-workers, other newspaperwoman and Ross' own general accounts. However, it is difficult to discover the specifics of male personalities in the newsroom from Ross. There is much material available about how she felt about other newspaperwomen. Furthermore, Ross' accounts and the recollection of those who worked with her or knew her personally have changed with time and with audience. The evidence is contradictory.

Writing shortly before her death in 1975 about her days as a newspaperwoman, Ross waxed nostalgic. In a letter to Harold

Geyer, a friend from the small fishing village Menemsha, on Martha's Vineyard, where Ross kept a country cottage for many years, she said:

> Old picture and papers certainly do stir up waves of nostalgia, just as do so many of the present plays, books and films. I see pictured all over again events that I saw and covered in the 20's and I appreciate them more today for I was such a zealous reporter that I spun around in a trance, never stopping to think of my own affairs. I adhered to the seven-day-a-week, round-the-clock routine that is so frowned on today. A professor from a school of journalism in the West interviewed me the other day on the differences between the 20's and the 70's [Marion Marzolf] where the new girls[77] are concerned [Up From the Footnote]. . . .

A reflective Ross paints a rosy picture of her newspaper days to Willa Beall, a conservative Cincinnati researcher who collaborated with her on An American Family, The Tafts. Beall served as a research executive for the Taft family. Ross told Beall that her days as a reporter provided interesting contacts: "Working for as long as I did on a metropolitan paper gives one a somewhat remarkable acquaintance with all manner of people."[78]

Ross speaks more frankly about women reporters in general to a more liberal Marion Marzolf:

> Everything moved more slowly in the 1920s and we were handicapped at time by being the unwanted women in gatherings of men. By the time women were welcomed in the Press Gallery in Washington, they had traveled so far on their own[79] that it had ceased to matter to them.

Thirty years after leaving the Herald Tribune, Ross told a friend, H.B. Fant of the National Archives, whom she often consulted on research, "I have sometimes been at the Harvard Club for one thing or another, although in my reportial days no woman was allowed even to cross the threshold -- journalist or not."[80]

Ross had that rare ability to serve as a sounding board for many diverse viewpoints. To neighbor Harold Geyer she would write nostalgic anecdotes about life in New York because he often became sentimental when writing about the city. To Willa Beall she would paint rosy pictures of her newspaper days because Ross knew Beall loved to reminisce on the two topics of their common interest: the New York of yesteryear and the Taft family dynasty. To Harvard alumnus H. B. Fant she provided a bit of inside trivia on the Harvard Club, which he often visited.

FIFTH AMENDMENT:

Fighting Prejudice

Ross' male colleagues, of course, become defensive when talking about the possibility of prejudice in the newsroom of the 1920s. However, the women who have worked there, speak of it. India McIntosh, who worked on the Herald Tribune city desk following Ross' tenure there, said: "The city desk, with all its democratic leanings, is weary of the woman reporter's emotional equipment, and it seldom dares to put these traditionally unstable factors to a test which might smear up the front page."[81] Ross writes about women reporters:

> The fact remains that they never were thoroughly welcome in the city room and they are not quite welcome now. They are there on sufferance, although the departments could scarcely get along without them. But if the front-page girls are all to disappear tomorrow no searching party would go out looking for more, since it is the fixed conviction of nearly every newspaper executive that a man in the same spot would be exactly twice as good.[82]

Stanley Walker, city editor at the Herald Tribune who worked with Bugbee and Ross, admits in City Editor that women in journalism have had to overcome "an appalling lot of prejudice." Ross would thank Walker and other city editors in her Ladies of the Press for their smooth words and chivalrous sentiments for defending the women reporter when she noted that every city editor thinks in his black but honest heart is: "Girls, we like you well enough but we don't altogether trust you!"[83]

Incidentally, there is a good indication of how Ross approached the whole idea of prejudice in the newsroom -- her choice of persons to write a preface to Ladies of the Press was this same Walker. He spends most of the narrative explaining why women do not measure up to the standards set by the profession, then allows several exceptions to his premise. He cited Ross as one of those exceptions. Of course, Walker nominated her as one of "New York's Twelve Best Reporters" during that same year (1936)in his City Editor (the only woman included in his nomination). One therefore wonders if she expected such a castigation of newspaperwomen from him in prefatory matter of her book about women journalists. But then, the Ross style was to let everyone speak his or her piece -- and be responsible for it, and what it shows.

Walker, in fact, adds a footnote to his comment about prejudice, saying that women reporters "have been to blame for much of it even if they are not always treated with complete fairness."[84] But he rationalizes, "The best women in the business are never resented by the men."[85] Walker had a symbolic name for these paragons, who he call "level-headed, sure in their instincts and judgments, unfailing in their loyalty, warm in their sympathies." He said they were among "the glories of the greatest profession."[86]

Ross asks in Ladies of the Press, "Where are these paragons to be found? No editors believes that such a woman reporter exists. She probably doesn't." Ross said: "And if she did, she would not have much chance to prove it, for although women have hit the sky in feature writing, they still have a long way to go to establish themselves as first-string news reporters."[87] Ross notes that the front-page newspaperwoman, by some fluke, somehow made it to the inner newspaper track. By weathering prejudice, they have done slightly more than the impossible:[88] "They are usually freaks who have landed head first at their goal, either by opportunity, hard work or luck -- most often luck."[89] Of course, she refers to the newspaperwoman in general here, but it is apparent that she speaks of herself.

She numerates the expectations the newspaperwoman of the 1920s had to fulfill daily, without complaint:

> The doubts raised by editors about her are legion. Can she write? Usually. Can she spell? At least as well as her masculine colleagues, often better. Is she lacking in a sense of humor? Probably, but only to the same degree as the rest of her sex. It doesn't make much difference to her paper. Is she emotional in her work? Rarely. Reporting now is largely realistic, except for the occasional word orgies at a sensational trial, and then it is an assumed frenzy, done with tongue in cheek. News writers have too much sense to beat their breast in public now. Their editors no longer expect it. The public would laugh.[90]

Ross said many newspaperwomen of her time would have gladly worked for nothing, rather than be denied the city room. Ross must have been describing herself when she told Marion Marzolf that most of the women reporters of her newspaper days were driven by ambition, "or seduced by the charm and diversity of each day's labors." Ross said, "They were apt to be indifferent to the rewards and possibilities of their work. They were miserably underpaid."[91]

Salaries for women reporters were a reflection of the women's salaries across the professions: they ranged from $35 to $150 a week in the large cities, and from $7 to $10 in the smaller ones.[92]

McBride discusses a newspaperwoman's salary at length. She said, "Men were always better paid, yet the editors of the twenties knew that women reporters worked harder and were more conscientious. . . . With a few exceptions we seldom took time to fuss about our faces or our clothes. Anyway, we couldn't be very stylish on the money we had to spend."[93] McBride, in her typical abnegation said, "Though I wasn't a good reporter, I was very proud of being one at all. We women on papers hadn't many illusions about ourselves."[94]

With no unions behind them they worked endless hours -- often around the clock -- and sometimes seven days a week and holidays."[95] McBride certainly speaks to that, when she says because there was no union, the newspaperwomen sometimes worked 24 hours without sleep and a dried-out sandwich for food: "It certainly wasn't an easy life."[96]

The closest thing to a union for the women reporters was the New York Newspaper Women's Club, which was founded by Martha Coman in the early twenties to take the place of the gatherings the women reporters had when they covered suffrage headquarters. Coman had worked for the Herald in the 1910s and early 1920s, when the suffrage movement had gained momentum.[97] Coman just might have worked with Ross and Bugbee on the Herald Tribune, but she left the Herald a year before it merged with the Tribune (in 1924).[98] Bugbee, in fact, shared common interest with Coman. She served several times as president of the Newspaper Women's Club.

At the club, the newspaperwomen shared the camaraderie they missed so much in the newsroom. Sometimes that just meant having tea together on a Sunday. Ross also came to those teas although she did not get active by serving as an officeholder. By 1936, when Ladies of the Press was published, the newspaperwomen across the city met in club rooms in the Savoy-Plaza, held an annual ball, helped newspaperwomen find jobs, worked to raise the status of newspaperwomen in New York.[99]

SIXTH AMENDMENT:

Dispelling Biases

We must look to researchers that have less of a vested interest in the newspaper of the 1920s to find a rounded description of Ross in the newsroom and out in the field. Kluger, for one, provides this disinterested point of view. In The Paper Kluger said Ross was the best all-around reporter during the 1920s -- among men or women reporters. He said Ross was "adept at gathering facts under often arduous conditions and returning to the office to fashion them speedily into a brisk run of evocative prose."[100] He said:

> Women were not exactly beloved objects on American newspapers as they crashed sexist barriers in the 'Twenties and 'Thirties. Diehard anti-feminist editors claimed that a disturbing high proportion of them were incompetent vixens, adept at office politics and exploiting their male colleagues while subject of going to pieces in a crisis; worse of all, they sat on your desk all the time.[101]

Kluger said Ishbel Ross made it clear that she was not that kind of female reporter. He said that although she was eager to dispel the bias against the female of the reportial species "as coy, catty, and at heart a puddle of emotion," her natural reserve undoubtedly held her back from mingling with the men in the city room.[102] Perhaps it was her reticence to participate in office politics that helped her retain her self-esteem in the newsroom. That is, her writing "scintillated" but she never did. Kluger only falls into errors and patronizes Ross when he dwells on such descriptive terms as calling her "a petite woman":

> She had dark brown wavy hair that never seemed untidy, bright blue-gray eyes, a pleasingly modulated voice with a trace of her native Highlands still detectable, and looked to many a tobacco-stained, liquor-loving, dirty-collared male reporter-around-town as if she had just stepped out of couturier's front window. . . . But Ishbel Ross displayed little personal flamboyance; only her writing scintillated.[103]

Mildred Gilman, the oldest surviving New York newspaperwoman at the age of 93 (in 1989, during an interview with author), said she knew Ishbel quite well because they kept in touch even after Ross left the Herald Tribune in 1933. Gilman worked for the New York Evening Journal. She and Ross were often sent out on the same assignments for their respective newspapers although Gilman was expected to write the colorful prose of a sob sister.

Gilman said Ishbel was attractive, but not pretty; "the adjectives that come to mind in describing her are that she was solid, compact, very good posture."[104] Kluger also uses the term "compact" -- to describe Ross' prose.[105] True, Ishbel did have light brown hair. It was draw into a bun in the back. However, as Gilman has noted, Ross wore conservative rather than tailored clothes, and did not succumb to the mini-skirts of that era.[106] Because she did not dress like a flapper, she was considered by 1920s male standards "the girl every boy wants to bring home to mama." If she had gone with the new style, become a woman of the '20s, she would have no doubt been considered scintillating.

Males reporters of the time seemed quite as caught up as the newspaperwomen with the dress and demeanor of their female colleagues. But for different reasons. Not as well known as the term "flapper," is the word "flipper" to describe the new male of the 1920s. Although some newspapermen apparently were caught up in the fashion craze of that decade, it is unlikely that one will find a case in which any of the newspapermen were called "flippers." When persons read about the newsroom of the past, will they wonder why there is so much about the newspaperwoman's dress and demeanor, but so little about the newspaperman's?

There is one major exception. Walker, for all his prejudicial comments about women who worried about their appearance more than their work, hired Lucius Beebe, who was to become famous as "a clothes horse, connoisseur of food and liquer," and for writing ornate prose. Walker's choice from his home state of Texas was the most flambuoyant dresser of all the New York newspapermen of hte time. After Beebe's first few pieces had appeared, Alva Johnston, of the Herald Tribune said to Walker "that new man of yours, Beebe -- he writes like an educated colored gentleman, doesn't he?"[107] Walker justifies his pick in Home to Texas:

> Beebe was a resplendent, eye-filling spectacle -- I remember he wore yellow gloves the day he came to apply for a job -- and he added to the flavor of the office and of Jack Bleeck's saloon next door. I believed that other reporters, because of his example,

dressed better.[108]

Robert Wohlforth, a reporter on Hearst's Morning American (who later married Mildred Gilman), remembers Ross wearing white gloves while covering most stories. He points out how old-fashioned Ross must have seemed in a time when they wrote stories about "gangsters, gun-molls, bridge-jumpers, Daddy Browning, the Central Park Casino, Texas Guinan, rum runners, Prohibition Agents (Izzy and Moe), Talking Pictures, 6-week dance marathons, RCA selling at 356 . . . ."[109]

Amidst all this clamor, Ross appeared prim and proper, "and sad to say, a number of times, somewhat prissy," he said.[110] He said she was typically assigned mostly to trials and the kind of story in which "hearings of the City Housing Commission of church upheavals duly records in some Protestant fief on 5th Avenue."[111] The gloves apparently were a hold-over from Ross' upbringing in provincial Bonar Bridge, Sutherlandshire, Scotland. No doubt, many of her colleagues, like McBride, enjoyed hearing her "lilt of Scotland" when Ross said their names.[112] Wohlforth said:

> She was well thought of and mingled well with other reporters while covering a trial. She was certainly a cut above the rest of the reporters who generally covered city news. We all felt the Trib assigned Ishbel to slightly upper-crust stories or that she was to put a more respectable spin on the run-of-the-mill shootings, rapes and murders.[113]

Wohlforth said her stories were always well-written and touched all bases, but he did not recall any of them showing much humor or verbal acrobatics. Bugbee was the Tribune reporter known for a light touch and a keen sense of humor.[114] Wohlforth said of Ross:

> Gene Fowler [sic, right editor?] respected Ishbel for her competence, but he certainly would not have hired her if he wanted his top stories to have color, as it was known is those rather raucous days. Ishbel's appearance on a story gave the story cachet; we know all the other papers in town would be covering it and that we better get busy and dig for some facts as Ishbel always did.[115]

While on a story, all the reporters would gather for lunch but Ishbel would never join them in the evening or in drinking bouts. At least not in Wohlforth's crowd.[116] As with her own colleagues on the Herald Tribune, Ross kept associations on a professional basis. However, she had met Bruce Rae while they both were covering the James Stillman divorce case for their respective newspapers, and soon afterward they were married. One presumes by this that Ross must have attended some social gatherings. Incidentally, in later decades her husband became night editor of the Times, as well as holding positions of increasing competence over his 50 years on The Times.[117] He rivalled Bugbee's long tenure at the Herald Tribune for his longevity at one newspaper.

Gilman documents a high-risk assignment she shared with Ross: the coverage of the shipwreck of the Vestris in November 1928. Bruce Rae and Gilman were among the reporters who also covered the story. Gilman said the whole incident was a scandal because the captain did not send out an S.O.S. in time; thereby, dooming so many passengers. Also, the lifeboats that could be launched were filled entirely with the crew.[118]

Gilman said after the catastrophe, the reporters were allowed to board the rescue ship, the American Shipper, and interview the very unhappy surviving crew and the few passengers who had escaped:

> A rope ladder was thrown over the side of our cutter, and in my eagerness to be first I tried to climb it. It was impossible; my skirts blew wide, my pocketbook, notes and all fell to the deck of the cutter, and finally I was lowered back to the cutter. Then steps were put over and I realized I had been tricked by the male reporters, who often tricked me because I was so eager to be first: Ishbel sympathized with me, after she had sedately climbed the steps.[119]

In the days following the disaster, Ross' by-lines appeared. The headlines tell the story: on Friday, November 16, Page 1, "Women Reveal Suffering in Sea as Hope Waned"; on Sunday, November 18, Page 7, "Mrs. Battan Relives Death of Husband"; and on Wednesday, November 21, Page 1, "50 Leaks in Vestris, Say Crew; U.S. Men Defend Her Safety."

SEVENTH AMENDMENT:

Covering Trials Competently

Not everyone agrees that Ross could not add color to her personal life or to a story. Perhaps all is relative, considering the kind of sensational news stories that came out of the 1920s. Ross and her husband were among the more than three hundred reporters covering the Hall-Mills case, the biggest murder trial of the 1920s. Among a huge battery of Mirror newsmen, the reporters filed nine million words during the 18 days of trial.[120]

Although both covered the Hall-Mills case, no mercy was shown professionally by either to the other. Ross apparently kept her news reporting on a professional basis with Rae. They never, according to the obituary written on Bruce Rae in 1962, discussed the case when alone.[121]

The murders of Edward Wheeler Hall, Episcopal rector and pastor of the fashionable Church of St. John the Evangelist, and Eleanor Reinhardt Mills, choir singer, are also the subject of a book by William Kunstler, titled aptly enough The Minister and the Choir Singer. Kunstler tells about the media storm that followed the discovery of the bodies under a crabapple tree in a lover's lane at Somerville, New Jersey, on September 16, 1922.[122]

At the onset, the Hall-Mills murders appear to be covered exclusively by the Tribune's Boyden Sparkes. In addition to Sparkes' by-lines, later anonymous articles of the coverage of Hall-Mills in 1922 are headed with the by-line "From a Staff Correspondent" in the same way the daily stringer articles on the Stillman divorce were filed.

This changed with a mass reporters' interview with the widow of Reverend Hall in her home, November 1, 1922. Ross happened to be in the right place at the right time. Only one reporter from each major New York newspaper and the local New Jersey papers was admitted for the interview. Bruce Rae was the representative from The Times. Ishbel Ross apparently was assigned by Tribune to be its representative, for she transcribed the interview word-for-word. It is not known if Sparkes were there also; but if he were, he filed no by-lined story. Ross' by-lined Page 1 story appears on Thursday, November 2, 1922, with the headline "Innocent of Crime, Seeks No Revenge, Declares Mrs. Hall." The word-for-word interview is also included on subsequent pages.

There are other trivia notes about Ross and Rae concerning Hall-Mills. Here are a selected few. In the murder trial -- four years later, Ross' daily articles featured her by-line. The Minister and the Choir singer is dedicated in part to Rae; the copyright page reads: "For Bruce Rae and Russell B. Porter--newspapermen to the end."

A local eccentric called "the pig woman" joined the annals of famous cases when she testified at the trial that she saw Mrs. Hall and her three relatives murder the couple under cover of darkness after catching them in a tryst. There had not been such a sensational murder trial since that of Lizzie Bordon in 1893, nor that of Henry Shaw, in 1907.

Stanley Walker, who came on as city editor in 1927 -- after the Hall-Mill case, believed few women could handle an important, involved murder mystery competently, but he maintained Ross was one of them. She showed versatility according to Walker's definition of "a general workmen" -- that is, she could handle many types of assignments.[123] Ross knew that the woman reporter rarely got chance to try the big story because usually the star reporter is paid to go out on such assignments.[124]

Kluger uses one of Ross' stories from the four-month-long trial to show her penchant to add colorful detail to straight news; he calls her account of the Pig Women's testimony an expert blending of color and economy.[125] Kluger reprinted the opening paragraphs from Ross' story in The Paper:

> SOMERVILLE, N.J., NOV. 18--Jane Gibson, the Amazon "pig woman," who rode Jenny the Mule in her sturdier days and guarded her farm with a shotgun, was borne into court on a stretcher to-day -- a helpless, mummified figure, wrapped in blankets and close to death.
>
> For four blistering fours she dominated the Hall-Mills trial from the pillows of a hospital cot -- an eerie figure waving waxen fingers at the four persons she now links with the murder scene on the Phillips farm in September, 1922.
>
> When her story was finished and her self-control at an end, she pulled herself up and screamed in a mad crescendo: "I have told the truth, so help me God. And you know it--you know it!"
>
> Her wild eyes blazed from their sunken sockets at Mrs. Hall. Her skinny arm was levelled at the still figure in black. A faint smile of pitying scorn touched the likes of the rector's widow.[126]

Warren Moscow, who later worked at the Times under Rae's editorial tutelage said "the gag in the profession at the time was that Bruce and Ishbel met on the Stillman case, but took a trip around the world on the proceeds of the Hall-Mills trial."[127] Moscow explains how the space-rate system works: "Star reporters were paid space rates in those days, the Times being the last to end the practice in 1928, and reporters on space could make as much as five hundred a week on a story when weekly paychecks were possibly a hundred for top people."[128]

This 1928 journey might have been a delayed honeymoon. However, they certainly could not have done it on Ross' salary. Ross recalled that for covering the Hall-Mills trial, her "pay was miserable, about $25 to $37 a week."[129] It was her husband, who was still on space rates at The Times, who made thousands of dollars on the trial, she told Marion Marzolf. While Moscow said the space-rate system ended in 1928, Ross said the practice ended in the mid-1930s.[130]

No one was actually ever found guilty for the murders of the minister and the choir singer. Therefore, people have never stopped speculating about the mystery and suggesting possible solutions. Gilman, who said she did not cover the Hall-Mills trial, had discussed the case at length with Ishbel. Gilman said:

> Ishbel and I both thought the minister and the choir singer were murdered as they were trysting in the woods by the KKK, which was very active in that part of New Jersey at that time. They were known to be after sinners of high repute, and no one was of higher repute that "the preacher and the choir singer."[131]

Again recollections differ. Ross wrote to her confidante of conservative leanings, H.B. Fant, about reading the pre-release draft of Kunstler's book. She said "I am reading a book just about to come out on the Hall-mills case. . . .

> It is intensely interesting to me, since I covered this case from first to last for the Herald Tribune, as my husband did for the Times. Indeed, the book is dedicated

> to him. It is written by a lawyer, but what floors me is the solution he offers -- that the Ku Klux Klan did it. Up to that point his book is sound and circumstantial, but I can't follow him down this side alley. It must be the effect of [his] being counsel for the N.A.A.C.P., Core, and Freedom Fighters and a few more crank institutions. Politics seems to get into everything nowadays.[132]

Although Ross' bylines of the trial dominated the front pages for more than four months, it was not her biggest coup. Ross considered her coverage of another murder in New Jersey, not far from the Hall-Mills tryst, her top assignment "because of its world-shaking implications": the kidnapping and murder of Charles A. Lindbergh Jr.[133] As an interesting side note, Gilman said Hall-Mills murder case was still being actively discussed by reporters when the Lindbergh kidnapping hit the scene six years later.[134]

EIGHTH AMENDMENT:

Producing Top Stories

Ross was quite caught up by the whole Lindbergh odyssey. She told confidant H.B. Fant years later that she could remember the excitement in the city room of 1927 when the announcement came that Lindbergh had landed at Le Bourget airfield in Paris. She said: "Since then I think we have became dead to the excitement of some of these great events, but the moon landing truly seemed to stir the world. What next, one wonders."[135] Lindbergh's trans-Atlantic crossing was akin to the moonlanding in her estimation.

Ross and George Cornish were members of the Herald Tribune news team sent to Washington to cover Lindbergh's triumphant arrival back to the states after the ocean voyage from Paris.[136] Ross interviewed Lindbergh's mother at the White House welcoming ceremony. Ross, for the Herald Tribune, and her husband Bruce Rae, for the The Times also covered the hullabaloo surrounding the Lindbergh celebration and parade in New York, which Rae called "the greatest reception the city has ever according a private citizen."[137] The headline on Ross' page-one story on June 14, 1927, was "Mother Shares Triumph With Son; Wonders at 'Fuss' Made Over Her;" the headline on Rae's page-one story, "Millions Roar Welcome to Lindbergh."

Unfortunately, the evidence is fragmentary regarding just how much copy Ross produced later on the Lindbergh kidnapping because literally thousands of column inches appearing in the Herald Tribune over the several months concerning the crime are not bylined. Incidentally, at the time, the aviator might have instigated this practice himself by criticizing newspapers that used bylines in the continuing coverage of his anguish. Nearly every New York newspaper apparently was shamed into abiding by his wishes.

The kidnapping of Charles Lindbergh's namesake took place at the family's Hopewell compound in Sourland Mountains of west-central New Jersey, only twenty miles due west of the Hall-Mill murders. The night of the kidnapping, Tuesday, March 1, 1932, was a dull one for the news budget at the New York newspapers. All stories had followed the expected pattern, except for

Japanese soldiers had entered Shanghai, routed Chiang Kai-shek's men with a death toll exceeding 2,000. Suburbs and city slept as "the city room clock hands crept toward first-edition time."[138]

Ross' former colleagues recall that only wire-service copy and stringer reporters were working when a police Teletype from Somerville flashed: "Colonel Lindbergh's baby was kidnapped from Lindbergh home in Hopewell, N.J., sometime between 7:30 and 10 p.m. this date. Baby is nineteen months old and a boy. Is dressed in sleeping suit. Request that all cars be investigated by police patrols."[139]

Although the final edition had closed, assistant night city editor Engelking wanted "the paper's best reporter on the scene" -- Ishbel Ross, according to Kluger's accounts.[140] Kluger said that Engelking, intimidated though he was by Ross, had no hesitancy in calling her out in the bitter-cold pre-dawn hours of March 2.[141] Ross was routed out of bed at 3 a.m., she recalled, to handle the breaking story for the following day's paper.[142] Richard G. West, a young Harvard rewrite man, sets the time at 4:45 in the morning, but he never has forgotten the office end of the Ross-Engelking conversation:

> "H'lo, Miss Ross?... This is Engel at the office. I'm sorry to bother you [shuffling his feet and chewing hard on his habitual cigar], but we've got a big story here and we wonder if you'd like to come up and cover it.... Well, pretty soon. We've ordered a Carey Cadillac here at five-thirty. . . . Sorry to get you out of bed. . . . Well, that's fine." Engel hung up and mopped his brow. "What a woman! She's coming up."[143]

Ross apparently refers to situations like this breaking story in Ladies of the Press when she said the newspaperwoman "never quite gets hardened to the sudden jolt when she see a well-known name . . . in a four-line bulletin" -- "[f]or news breaks with astonishing speed. It strikes a newspaper office like lightning."[144] She said a newspaperwoman can expect nine out of her ten days work to take her to the fringes of tragedy: "News visits a home most often to annihilate it. The shadow of a reporter falling across the doorstep may presage the collapse of a lifetime of work."[145]

Beyond competence, Ross also had an edge on being assigned the Lindbergh story. The story fell naturally into what was then thought to be woman's province: women and babies. India McIntosh, who joined the Herald Tribune around the time of the Lindbergh kidnapping said that the smart women reporter, rather than fighting against being assigned these stories, made the most of them. With tongue in cheek, McIntosh said, "In their ignorance of city-desk policies, women and babies even get on the front page. No woman reporter should ever destroy the desk's belief that she has a special gift for writing about women and babies; as a matter of fact, she has."[146]

Women and babies were often in the news during Ross' tenure with the Herald Tribune because the 1920s and early 1930s suffered a spate of weekly kidnappings. It is just that no one could have prophesied that it would happen to "Little Lindy," the blue-eyed, golden-haired son of America's No. 1 hero and the cultured daughter of the banker and politician Dwight Morrow.

Even before Ross covered Lindbergh, the women reporters had swapped anecdotes about kidnappings; in a much talked-about incident Julia Harpman of the Daily News had once seen the bones of a murdered baby being separated from the clay in which he had been buried for 10 years.[147]

West said Ross arrived at the paper forty minutes after Engelking's phone call, with "every wave in place, as if she had just come from the beauty parlor."[148] Although she had been called out of a deep sleep, Ross -- true to form -- told an apologetic Engelking, "Oh, that's all right. I hadn't been to bed yet."[149]

Meanwhile, in the newsroom of The New York Times, Ross' husband, Bruce Rae, was pouring out a stream of orders. He had been serving as assistant managing editor when the Teletype message came through. He had taken over the city desk.[150] His actions in those first crucial minutes indicate what was happening down the street in the Herald Tribune newsroom.

Rae sent Deak Lyman, another reporter and a photographer to Hopewell, assigned a man to the Teletype and another to the library to get clippings on the Lindbergh child. He ordered a story from Washington on the proposed Federal law on kidnapping and sent for photographs of the baby and his relatives. He had an artist draw a map of the Hopewell area.[151]

The Herald Tribune night city desk crew, after finishing putting the paper to bed, followed Ross to the Hopewell farm. Maron J. Simon, a rewriteman at the time, recalls the scene:

> It was a damned cold winter dawn, and the place was crawling with cops and officials and reporters -- it looked as if an army had bivouacked there, the place was so filled with mud--and there in the middle of all that muck and mire was little Ishbel, wearing her red cloth coat with the fur collar and her high-heeled shoes--no boots, no galoshes.[152]

While her Herald Tribune colleagues bivouacked at the nearby Princeton Inn to get some sleep, Ross reported back to the paper at 7 p.m., "dripping wet," according to Kluger's sources.[153]

NINTH AMENDMENT:

Writing Under Deadline Pressure

Ross once described the city room she must have returned to that night. Back in the city room under the high-powered lights blazing over the rows of desks, she worked quietly at her typewriter in a fog of abstraction.[154]

Ross does not say who was in the newsroom that day, but it was probably any of the staff within shouting distance. Helen Reid, for one, haunted the newsroom when a big story broke.[155] Perhaps Bugbee strolled in, neither breathless nor expectant, calm and restrained as was her habit; Ross said Bugbee was "never run off her feet, no matter how hectic things are around her."[156]

No one, however, would be more calm than Ross was that day because she worked best under deadline pressure. Ross once wrote about "the eternal function" of writing a good story. The story would not have much reality for her until it was focused in black type, so absorbed was she in the mechanics of what she was doing. Ross believed that a news reporter was doing her job if she could write before the fever of the moment passes: "Her best work is torn from her, take by take, under pressure. She lives herself through the news. If she is skilled at her job, she manages to convey the excitement to her readers."[157]

Ross said that on the big story a reporter needs to take the broad view, otherwise her vision is apt to be close and her factual grasp inadequate:[158]

> There is no covering up as she sits before her typewriter with the lead story of the day at her mercy. The words must rip from her fingers in orderly procession. The facts behind them must be sharp and clear and the balance perfect. There are no excuses when the paper comes up and the lead story is feeble.[159]

Ross told Marion Marzolf, author of Up From the Footnote, that a women reporter assigned to a major story had to be twice as careful as a man in verifying facts and writing clearly. Somehow, she must be all at the same time sensible and imaginative and resourceful. Ever present is the suspicion of the men in the newsroom that she will go to pieces under the strain of a big story on deadline. But Ross, through the Lindbergh coverage and other major late-breaking stories, proved that women could be capable of working under such deadline pressure.[160]

Ross also balanced her emotional thoughts. She said that reporters covering a happening like a kidnapping never must let feelings get in the way, nor be wholly insensitive. They must strike a balance: "Good reporters rarely are dead to what they see. They are objective first, but they must interpret the passions of their fellow men with some degree of insight. The apathetic man or woman does not make a fine reporter. The harp would twang a bit."[161]

Ross said as the woman reporter works on deadline, she forgets all else:

> She cares little if she eats or sleeps until it is finished and the last fact is carefully checked and fitted into its niche. She moves in a trance. She forgets that she has a home, a husband, a child, a family. She hangs on day and night, so physically exhausted that her head sings, waiting to get what she is after. In some respects she is almost as spectacular as the movies have made her; in others, she is a weary drudge, coping with minor obstacles.[162]

However, she could not have forgotten that in the city room of the Times, her husband, Bruce Rae, was no doubt wrapping up the story. She just put that knowledge into a neat little compartment, and forged ahead.

Ross faced what she called the most delicate test for a reporter: "marshalling facts and assembling a big news story in perfect proportion, under pressure."[163]

> This calls for lucid thinking, good judgment, and absolute clarity of style. The pace is like lightning. The most experienced men sometimes fumble among the countless intricate threads when hell is let loose too close to the deadline.[164]

She threaded the complex facts and met the deadline. Kluger's sources remember her working on the Lindbergh story in the newsroom. They said Ross "wrote the eight-column lead story, juggling her own copy, new leads from the wire services, inserts, kills, and sub-graphs until they let her go home at two the next morning."[165]

On May 13 the Lindbergh baby was found dead on Mount Rose, not far from the Lindbergh home. Apparently, He had been murdered a short time after he had been kidnapped. Ross said she followed the story to this sad finish.[166] This is how we know she filed most -- if not all of the copy -- on the anonymously written stories. She wrote later:

> Reporters are usually impersonal about their work, but this was a story that penetrated the thickest skin, as clues were followed, hopes were raised, then dashed, over a period of four months, until the quest ended abruptly when the baby's dead body was found in the woods.[167]

In 1935, at the famous Lindbergh kidnapping trial of Bruno Hauptmann, 36 women -- a new high -- crowded the press box,[168] out of the three hundred reporters in the small Hunterdon County Courthouse in rural Flemington, New Jersey. There had been only four women reporters at the internationally covered Thaw trial in 1907.[169]

Unfortunately, Ross was not at the Hauptmann trial, even though there is conflicting evidence to that. She left the newspaper in 1933 after her first novel, Marriage in Gotham, scored a commercial success. Kluger has noted that Joseph Alsop arrival. He covertly took the first three sheets of his copy to Rae at the night city desk a few minutes after Rae arrived, at 6 o'clock. The story was edited by 9 p.m., but no copy boy, nor anyone else except the headline writer, the typesetter and the printers, had been allowed to handle it: LINDBERGH FAMILY SAILS FOR ENGLAND \ TO SEEK A SAFE, SECLUDED RESIDENCE \ THREATS ON SON'S LIFE FORCED DECISION.[173] One wonders if Rae told Ross about the story that Saturday night. No doubt he did. By that time, she was no longer working for the Herald Tribune.

TENTH AMENDMENT:

Elevating Status of Newspaperwomen

It was the excitement of the challenging story that almost cancelled for Ross all the feelings of prejudice, something she said "the seasoned newspaperwoman has to recognize."[174] Ross wrote in Ladies of the Press:

> If she is wise she will go on her way, taking things in her stride. She will not fuss over periods of quiet. She will mind her own business, take assignments handed out to her and never grouse unduly. She cannot always live in the news writer's seventh heaven. There are dull days with nothing but obits to write. But as sure as she lives, news will stir again. She will watch it rustle through the office. The city editor will come over to her, hand her a bulletin, and from this cryptic note may spring the story of the decade.[175]

Ross was making some headway in her personal life to increase the status of women. A colleague of Rae's said he was quite unusual among editors of that time, in his utter indifference about the sex of reporters.[176]

As Hamsher points out, Ross was an anomaly and a trail-blazer. In the 1920s very few women were employed as general news reporters. They were usually assigned to the feature page as society, housekeeping or "sob sister" stories. The "big news" was handled by men. "Much of the news still is, but women reporters have made amazing inroads into that men's field, thanks to the trail blazed by Ishbel Ross and several others," he said.[177]

India McIntosh, who came to the Herald Tribune around the time Ross moved on to writing novels, writes of a new modern women reporter, who is there in the newsroom because a handful of women like Ross established a beachhead in the once masculine realm. McIntosh said the earlier women reporters like Ross "softened up the opposing forces" to the point the battle in the newsroom by the late 1940s was a mock one.[178]

McIntosh said she got her start in the newsroom "under the old call of the ill wind, World War II and the manpower shortage."[179] Further enhancing her career through the 1940s was the fact that the services of the woman reporter were in demand for war coverage at home and abroad, and for anything that came under the heading of news.[180]

She writes: "The girl reporter [woman] is still in a minority, but she isn't an enemy; fraternization is no longer frowned upon, and the garrison of the city room is a benevolent one."[181] McIntosh claims that by the woman reporter holds "as firm a place in the newspaper business as her masculine colleagues":

> The public takes her pretty much for granted, and there is a decided decline in the number of quips she hears about sob sisters and the woman's angle, whatever that is. She is seldom reminded of her sex or her supposed limitations by the men with whom she covers fires and homicides, meets ships, shares taxis, and sits in on the diabolic institution known as the press conference which is geared to the lowest and slowest mentality present (not hers). Most of the men in her office seem to like her.[182]

However, McIntosh mouths Ross' complaint of years before: the city desk of the 1940s was thought to be masculine. McIntosh said the desk still harbored man's innate distrust of woman's emotions: "Let us not quarrel too much with this attitude for the time being. It, too, will pass."[183] Rather, she criticizes that even though the city desk tries harder than it ever had before to look upon its men and its women reporters with equal eyes; it succeeds on every score but one -- assignments.[184]

The women reporter of the 1940s, however, continued to change some minds. Of course, she continued to cover the news that touched on women. McIntosh recalls the day she went down into the Tombs to talk to a seventeen-year-old who murdered his mother. The newspaperwoman also got "dull" assignments that fall with the luck of the draw: McIntosh said she once sipped cocktails at the Plaza as she listened to a 39-page lecture on "The Art of Keep a Speech Brief and To the Point." However, it was also ecohes of the Vestris. McIntosh also could join the veteran male journalists on icy piers to report the shipping news.[185]

McIntosh targets her critcism, saying whatever the assignment for the newspaperwoman, it was primarily a one-day stand: a tidy little episode that "can be packaged in three-quarters of a column and then forgotten."[186] Walker, for all his talk of giving women a chance against the tide of prejudice, reflected the general view continued to be held by editors on the major newspapers when he said a newspaper needs only a few women, if any, among a large staff of men reporters.[187]

Walker believed such important subjects as politics, city hall, the police station, the hospital emergency ward, mass transit, the legislature, municipal government and financial news should be handled by men. He placed little confidence on a women's ability to interpret everyday affairs of government, no an uncommon view in the short decade after women had won the vote. Walker writes:

> Except for a handful who are kept on general assignments, most women on a newspaper are shunted into special departments, where they do not have to deal with the rough and tumble world of policemen, firemen, ambulances, gunmen, lawyers and politicians in the back room. Thus women tend to become secretaries, research workers, librarians, promotion managers, advertising writers or salesmen and what not. The field there is wide, and it is full of women who are doing capable work.[188]

As a tribute to the competence of Ross and women like her, Walker did concede that some women have done excellent work at trials, "where the evidence is spread upon the record and the

> death and watches the raw agony of his wife while he dies.[192]

Ross extended this coverage through perseverance -- pure and simple. She knew she received many assignments because she was a woman, such as an interview with Elinor Glyn early in her career. This opened the door for working as stringer on the long-running Stillman divorce case -- again a female newsmaker in Fifi Stillman and her baby Guy. When the Hall-Mills interview came along, Ross was ready for it. That translated into more assignments of increasing responsibility, including the Hall-Mills murder trial and the Lindbergh kidnapping. But let it be noted that Ross continued also to cover one-day stands and stories editors like Walker place in the newspaperwoman's venue: the church news, interviews with prominent women and, of course, the perennial obituaries.

McIntosh, in writing about the woman reporter, tells how she felt when she was passed over again and again for the big story. Her feelings must reflect those of Ross, who worked for a half dozen years before she drew by-lined stories. McIntosh said:

> With hungry eyes, she watches the men reporters draw most of the running stories--the big stories, with many facets, which splash page one for days or even weeks, surging to a climax or boiling over into a half a dozen stories or fading to a one-line head as imperceptibly as the Cheshire cat faded to a grin.[193]

However, woman covering general assignments gets to see a lot of the world. McIntosh said: "Her by-line may not glitter too frequently on page one, but in virtually any given month she will see more of life than most women see in a lifetime."[194]

This is surely Ross' greatest triumph. From 1926 to 1933, when she left the Herald Tribune, she was able to vie for many major stories, often being the No. 1 choice of her editors. She assuredly had more front-page stories than any other major newspaperwoman she wrote about in her Ladies of the Press, a book which does not feature her name in any section but the title page. There it is, "Ishbel Ross" -- the author's name.

Ironically, she was "the" major "lady of the press." However, no one has given her due credit for her contributions, least of all Ross herself. But wait, that is not entirely correct. The whole work, Ladies of the Press, is an explanation of how she perceived the newsroom, for it is an interpretive biography of the careers of newspaperwomen across the country up to the mid-1930s. In fact, Ross' chapter, "Front-Page Girl" can be appreciated more, if one sees Ross writing about herself. Even though the narrative it written from the perspective of third person, the author apparently drew most of her revelations about the front-page newspaperwoman from the newsroom of the Herald Tribune. In her correspondence, fictional works and autobiographies, the theme is repeated.

Ross said writing stories for the front page bewitched newspaperwomen, making them unfit for any other type of work; she called it an elixir: "Strange music sings in their ears. Visions haunt them as they walk the streets. They fall asleep with the sound of rumbling presses in their heads. They have seen too much and it hasn't been good for their health."[195]

Perhaps McBride said it best:

> It's hard to explain the fascination of newspaper work. I am sure that men feel it as much as women and once you've had it, no matter where you go or what you do, no matter how much money you make or even how famous you become, your proudest boast is still that you were once a newspaperman.[196]

* * * * *

Hard-boiled[197] Walker valued a story that was written "clearly and compactly." He said this was Ross' great skill, as shown in the funeral services she covered for the prominent Ella V. von E. Wendel, the last of the Wendel line, which is reprinted from Walker's City Editor.[198] He apparently is an adherent of the belief that the test of a good reporter is his or her ability to write a good obituary.

By the time Ross was nominated by Walker as one of New York's "Twelve Best Reporters" she had written three novels in the three years since she left the Herald Tribune. In naming her for the award, Walker notes that during 13 years as a reporter in New York (1919 to 1933), she covered such assignments as "the Stillman divorce case, the Hall-Mills murder, the sale of the World, the Lindbergh kidnaping, the death of Star Faithfull, the visits of the Princes of Wales and the King of Siam, the murder of Vannie Higgins, the death of Mrs. Minnie Fiske, the annual Easter parade of Fifth Avenue -- in short, everything."[199]

Walker also refers to her as "quiet, efficient, courageous and always dependable."[200] Ross left the newsroom while she was at the top of her profession. Walker writes: "There is general agreement among newspaper men who worked with her that she was the best newspaperwoman who ever worked in New York."[201] Of course, as already noted, Kluger thought Ishbel Ross the best-all-around reporter of the 1920s and early 1930s -- man or woman.[202]

Funeral services for Miss Ella V. von E. Wendel, the last of the Wendel line, were held yesterday afternoon in the vast, dim house of mystery at Fifth Avenue and Thirty-Ninth Street, her small dog Tobey prone before her coffin.203

Nineteen persons attended the obsequies of the frugal spinster who lived consistently in the Victorian tradition and left a fortune of approximately $100,000,000. This number included the two officiating, her counsel and her servants.

The coffin lay under a blanket of calla lilies at the end of the hall, facing the oak staircase that echoed for years to the decorous footsteps of six prim ladies in rusty black. The old grandfather clock with wooden works stood in a corner and heavy curtains shut out the light of day.

The gas brackets hung in their accustomed places, but the gas-lit era of the Wendel family had needed at last. Electric lights, subdued and few in number, illuminated the reception hall, a recent installation approved by Miss Ella after decades of resistance to the encroachments of modern science.

The ceiling and far corners of the hall were lost in shadow, but beams of light rested on Miss Ella, calm and faintly smiling in her eternal sleep. To one side were the windows where her father, the second John Gottlieb Wendel, used to watch the flow of carriages and the Sunday promenade in Fifth Avenue.

A carved walnut table stood in the center of the hall and old paintings in gilt frames hung on the somber brown walls; Miss Ella had rarely lingered on the ground floor of the house, whose blank and shuttered windows failed to catch the faintest reflection of the skyscrapers growing around it.

The small group around the coffin seemed lost in the dim high-ceilinged hall. Before the services began Tobey refused to leave his mistress. Disconsolately he sniffed at the flowers and turned mournful eyes on the servants who tried to comfort him. Miss Wendel had lavished all the love of a starved heart on the small white poodle, last of a line of Tobeys that have played in a strip of garden shut off from Fifth Avenue by a tall fence.

When the Rev. Dr. Nathan A. Seagle, rector of St. Stephen's Epsicopal Church, at 122 West Sixty-Ninth Street, went into the dining room to put on his vestments Tobey trotted in at his heels and jumped up and down--"as if he were pleading to serve as an acolyte" -- the rector later declared.

He followed Dr. Seagle back to the coffin, then lay quietly on the floor through the service, his eyes fixed on the clergyman. Dr. Seagle was assisted by Dr. Ezra S. Tipple, honorary president of the Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., an old friend of the Wendel family. In her will Mrs. Rebecca A. D. Wendel Swope indicated that she hoped Miss Ella would bequeath the house in Fifth Avenue to the seminary.

Dr. Seagle read the burial of the dead, choosing Psalm XC and reading the lesson from the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians. There was no music and no singing, but Dr. Seagle recited the hymn:

"Just as I am, without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for men,
And that Thou bid'st me come to The,
O! Lamb of God, I come, I come."

The Wendels were Methodists and Dr. Tipple departed from the Episcopal ritual to the extent of delivering an informal prayer in which he alluded to "the gentleness, the kindliness and human affection" of the last Miss Wendel.

The Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer were repeated by the assembled group and then Dr. Seagle pronounced the benediction.

"Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit you. The Lord less you and keep you. The Lord make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you. The Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace, both now and ever more. Amen."

The group broke up. Tobey saw the coffin containing his mistress being lifted up and borne through the long hall toward the front door. He trotted after it and stood on guard until the thick oak doors were closed. Out on Fifth Avenue a crowd watched the house and moved forward with a single impulse when the coffin was carried out to the hearse.

It was the first time that casual spectators had even seen the front door of the Wendel mansion open wide. The shades on the front windows were half way up and the glass was thick with dust. Shuttered were closed on the south side of the house. The wreaths were few in number, for Miss Wendel's intimates could be counted on the finger of one hand. Calla lilies on the coffin, three wreaths of irises and roses--that was all.

The crowd stood back and watched the last of the Wendels borne from the house in which the family had seemed to the outside world to have been entombed for years. A 1910 model motor car containing a woman of ninety-two followed the cortege to Trinity Cemetery at 155th Street and Broadway.

Those who attended the funeral both at the home and the grave, in addition to the two clergymen, were Charles G. Koss, senior counsel of the Wendel family, and his daughter, Miss Isabel G. Koss; George F. Warren Jr., junior partner of the firm; Mr. and Mrs. John B. Maddock, Mrs. Benjamin West Clinedinsts, old family friends; Mrs. Tipple, Mr. and Mrs. William L. Dyas, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Bloom and Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Shirk.

Mr. Shirk is the nearest living relative of the family, although no blood relation. He is the nephew of the late Luther Swope, Miss Ella's brother-in-law. Mr. Bloom is superintendent of the Wendel Estate at Irving-on-Hudson. Two women servants and a man servant also went to the cemetery.

The committal service was read on a bleak knoll with a March wind whipping over the small group of mourners. At least 100 spectators had found their way into the cemetery and surrounded the family vault on the hill. A plain gray stone, rectangular in shape, marks the burial place of Miss Wendel, along with her six sisters, her brother, her father and mother, and her grandfather and grandmother. The inscription is simply:

1841

WENDEL VAULT

John Gottlieb Wendel, the fur merchant who founded the family fortune, was buried in the same spot in 1841 and each member of his family in turn has been laid with him. Dr. Seagle read the committal ritual of the Episcopal Church and the vault was sealed.

Mr. Warren disclosed afterward that Miss Wendel was preparing to leave her town house for Irvington-on-Hudson when stricken last Monday. She preferred her home there to any other Wendel properties, and always looked forward to leaving New York.

She was conscious up to the time of her death, he said, but was unable to talk. Along with other old friends of the family, Mr. Warren pointed out that Miss Wendel was not a miserly old woman, as she has been pictured, but was actually a quiet and gentle soul who had chosen to live the way she did and liked it.

She was once quoted as saying she did not know how to spend money, because she had never been given any money to spend as a girl. She loved Tobey to the exclusion of everything else, and the custody of the little white poodle is one of the problems that has to be settled by her lawyers. Miss Koss, who was with her when she died, was her most intimate friend. She visited Miss Wendel constantly during the years that the aged spinster lived as a recluse overlooking one of the busiest spots in the world.

Her will is to be filed for probate today or tomorrow.

[1] Marion Marzolf, biographical anecdotes on Ishbel Ross in "Sob Sister to War Correspondent" in Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists (New York: Hastings House, 1977), p. 52.

[2] Richard Kluger, The Paper (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986, p. 220.

[3] Memorandum from Frank Waters, to author (September 20, 1988).

[4] Ishbel Ross, Ladies of the Press; The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1936), p. 13.

[5] George Cornish, letter to Merrick (from St. Petersburg, Florida), dated September 21, 1928.

[6] Ross, Ladies, p. 126.

[7] Kluger, The Paper, p. 221.

[8] India McIntosh, Late City Edition (by Joseph G. Herzberg and members of the New York Herald Tribune staff; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), p. 48.

[9] Ross, Ladies, p. 8.

[10] Kluger, The Paper, p. 221.

[11] Walter Hamsher, letter to Merrick (from 79 Shamrock Circle, Santa Rosa, California), dated August 31, 1988.

[12] Hamsher, letter to Merrick (from 79 Shamrock Circle, Santa Rosa, California), dated August 31, 1988.

[13] Ross, Ladies, p. 9.

[14] Ross, Ladies, p. 9.

[15] Ross, Ladies, p. 9.

[16] Ross, Ladies, p. 9.

[17] Ross, Ladies, p. 8.

[18] Ross, Ladies, p. 8.

[19] Mary Margaret McBride, A Long Way From Missouri (New York: G.P. Putnams, 1959), p. 162.

[20] Ross, in "The Love Forum," Ladies, pp. 125-126.

[21] Ross, in "The Love Forum," Ladies of the Press, p. 125.

[22] Harry W. Baehr Jr. The New York Tribune Since the Civil War (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1936), p. 379.

[23] Ross, Ladies, p. 126.

[24] McBride, A Long Way From Missouri, p. 161.

[25] McBride, A Long Way From Missouri, p. 161.

[26] McBride, A Long Way From Missouri, p. 163.

[27] Ishbel Ross, Sons of Adam, Daughters of Eve: The Role of Women in American History (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 202.

[28] Ross, Daughters, p. 201.

[29] Ross, Ladies, p. 8.

[30] Kluger, The Paper, p. 221.

[31] McBride, A Long Way From Missouri, p. 161.

[32] McBride, A Long Way From Missouri, pp. 163-164.

[33] Ross, Ladies p. 5.

[34] Ross, Ladies, p. 5.

[35] Ross, Ladies, p. 4.

[36] Walker, City Editor, p. 251.

[37] Ladies, Ladies, p. 4.

[38] McIntosh, in Herzberg, p. 51.

[39] Ishbel Ross, letter to Marion Marzolf, (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, May 17, 1975). Also, in *Marzolf's up From the Footnote*. Also, in Marzolf's *Up From the Footnote*.

[40] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 9.

[41] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 9.

[42] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 2.

[43] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 9.

[44] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 10.

[45] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 2.

[46] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 10.

[47] Stanley Walker, *City Editor*, (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1934) p. 250.

48Ross, letter to Marion Marzolf, (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, May 17, 1975).

[49] Ross, letter to Marion Marzolf, (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, May 17, 1975).

[50] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 161.

[51] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 162.

[52] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 163.

[53] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 162.

[54] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 161.

[55] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 162.

[56] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 5.

[57] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 4.

[58] Ross, *Ladies*, pp. 4-5.

[59] McIntosh, in Herzberg, p. 53.

[60] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 9.

[61] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 9.

[62] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 9.

[63] Walker, *City Editor*, p. 262.

[64] McIntosh, in Herzberg, p. 53.

[65] Robert E. Grayson, in Herzberg, p. 93.

[66] Grayson, in Herzberg, pp. 93-94.

[67] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 161.

[68] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 160.

[69] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 8.

[70] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 11.

[71] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 161.

[72] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 139.

[73] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 135.

[74] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 135.

[75] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 135.

[76] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 26.

[77] Ishbel Ross, letter to Harold Geyer (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, May 24, 1975).

[78] Ross, letter to Willa Beall (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, July 27, 1973).

[79] Ross, letter to Marion Marzolf ((from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, May 17, 1975).

[80] Ross, letter to H.B. Fant (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, April 8, 1969).

[81] McIntosh, in Herzberg, p. 49.

[82] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 13.

[83] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 13.

[84] Walker, *City Editor*, P. 262.
[85] Walker, *City Editor*, p. 264.
[86] Walker, *City Editor*, p. 264.
[87] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 4.
[88] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 3.
[89] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 5.
[90] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 11.
[91] Ross, in Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, p. 46.
[92] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 12.
[93] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 161.
[94] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 161.
[95] Ishbel Ross, letter to Marion Marzolf May 17, (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, 1975). Also, in Marzolf's *Up From the Footnote*.
[96] McBride, *A Long Way From Missouri*, p. 160.
[97] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 127.
[98] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 129.
[99] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 126.
[100] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 220.
[101] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 221.
[102] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 221.
[103] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 221.
[104] Mildred Gilman Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut).
[105] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 221.
[106] Mildred Gilman Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut).
[107] Stanley Walker, *Home to Texas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 30.
[108] Walker, *Home to Texas*, p. 30.
[109] Robert Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 1, 1988).
[110] Robert Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 1, 1988).
[111] Letter from Robert Wohlforth, to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 1, 1988).
[112] McBride, *A Long Way from Missouri*, p. 162.
[113] Robert Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 1, 1988).
[114] Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, p. 126.
[115] Robert Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 1, 1988).
[116] Robert Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 1, 1988).
[117] Walker, p. 288.
[118] Mildred Gilman Wohlworth, letter to Merrick (57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut) dated February 1, 1988.
[119] Mildred Gilman Wohlworth, letter to Merrick (57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut) dated February 1, 1988.
[120] "The Lurid Little Journals," *This Fabulous Century 1920-1930*, Vol. III (New York: Time-Life Books, 1969), p. 190]
[121] Obituary of Bruce Rae, *The Times* (March 13, 1962).
[122] William Kunstler, *The Minister and the Choir Singer* (New York: William Morrow & Company), 1964.

[123] Walker, p. 250.
[124] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 5.
[125] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 222.
[126] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 222.
[127] Warren Moscow, undated Letter to Merrick (from 231 Wiccopee Road), postmarked August 22, 1988.
[128] Warren Moscow, undated Letter to Merrick (from 231 Wiccopee Road), postmarked August 22, 1988.
[129] Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, p. 40.
[130] Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, p. 40.
[131] Mildred Gilman Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut), dated February 1, 1988.
[132] Ishbel Ross, letter to H.B. Fant (from 251 East Fifty-first Street), dated January 29, 1964.
[133] Eleanor Adams, "Chit and Chat," *Cincinnati Inquirer* (January 6, 1963).
[134] Gilman, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut), February 1, 1988.
[135] Ross, letter to H.B. Fant (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street), July 21, 1969].
[136] George Cornish, letter to Merrick (from St. Petersburg, Florida), dated September 21, 1928.
[137] Bruce Rae, "Millions Roar Welcome to Lindbergh," *The Times*, (June 14, 1927).
[138] Meyer Berger, cites anecdote about "Deak" Lyman's Pulitzer Prize-Winning Story and Bruce Rae's connection with story in "Sharecroppers and Communists," "The Lindbergh Baby Kidnapping" and "Deak Lyman's Lindbergh Beat" in *The Story of The New York Times: 1851-1951*. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1951. p. 383.
[139] Berger, p. 385.
[140] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 222.
[141] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 222.
[142] Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, p. 40.
[143] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 222.
[144] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 10.
[145] Ross, *Ladies* p. 4.
[146] McIntosh, in Herzberg, pp. 49-50.
[147] McBride, p. 163.
[148] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 222.
[149] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 222.
[150] Berger, p. 385.
[151] Berger, pp. 385-386.
[152] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 222.
[153] Maron J. Simon, in Kluger's *The Paper*, p. 222.
[154] Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, p. 3.
[155] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 138.
[156] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 126.
[157] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 10.
[158] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 5.
[159] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 6.
[160] Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*, p. 53.
[161] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 8.
[162] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 5.

[163] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 5.
[164] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 5.
[165] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 223.
[166] Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, p. 40.
[167] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 220.
[168] *Modern Journalism*, p. 274.
[169] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 4.
[170] Kluger, *The Paper*, p. 253.
[171] Mildred Gilman Wohlforth, letter to Merrick (from 57 Rockwell Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut), dated February 1, 1988.
[172] Warren Moscow, letter to Merrick (from 316 W. 84th Street, New York), dated September 19, 1988.
[173] Berger, pp. 414-419.
[174] Ross, *Ladies*, p. 10.
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[176] Murray Shumach, letter to Merrick, dated May 19, 1988.
[177] Letter from Walter Hamsher, to author (from 79 Shamrock Circle, Santa Rosa, California, August 31, 1988).
[178] McIntosh, in Herzberg, p. 47.
[179] McIntosh, in Herzberg, p. 47.
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Conflicting Advice: Parents, the Popular Press and the Comic Book Controversy, 1948-1954.

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Conflicting Advice: Parents, the Popular Press, and the Comic Book Controversy, 1948-1954

Between the end of World War II and 1954, comic books became the center of a controversy about the mass media and their effects on children, with most of the attention focused on the debate about comic books and juvenile delinquency. The controversy ended rather abruptly in 1954 with the creation of an industry-imposed censorship code that removed the titles from the newsstands that had been attacked by critics of the medium.

The success of the "crusade against comics" is usually attributed to the efforts of parents. For example, James Gilbert, in Cycle of Outrage, suggests that child psychiatrist Dr. Fredric Wertham's campaign against comic books was successful because his focus on the invasion of the home by mass culture articulated a fear that lay close to the surface of discussion among parents who were willing converts to Wertham's theories. And William Savage, in his examination of post-war comic books, writes that parents responded to warnings about the evils of comic books and that their reaction brought about the strict censorship code implemented in 1954. (1)

But this assumption--that the controversy over comic books was somehow a grassroots uprising that was recognized and articulated by experts writing for both professional and popular publications during the period--is one that needs to be examined more closely. This paper puts the controversy into the larger context of conceptions of childhood and the task of childrearing to demonstrate how this assumption of a "bottom-up" popular reaction against comic books ignores the complex interaction of experts in various fields, educators, civic leaders and parents and the process of mediation of the various discourses which were circulated primarily through the popular press.

Philippe Aries, in his social history of childhood, argues that the idea of childhood is a historical construction. In ancient times, childhood was a period of transition which passed quickly. It wasn't until the seventeenth century that the modern concept of a childhood period separate from the world of adults emerged. Religious orders first recognized the child was not ready for life and had to have special training before joining adults. Changing patterns of family life, with the family occupying an increasingly private space, coupled with the growth of education, removed the child from the realm of adult society. This emerging concept of childhood led to an increasing importance attached to the role of the parent and the growth of a literature devoted to the task of childrearing. (2)

In his review of literature about childrearing in early nineteenth-century America, Robert Sunley notes that the Calvinist doctrine provided the dominant ideology for child-raising theory and practice. Those teachings held that the child was born totally depraved and doomed unless given guidance and saved. Complete obedience and submission were required to keep the child from sin and evil. (3) This concept of the child persisted, although it was slightly moderated, until well into the twentieth century. The primary task of the parent was that of socialization--training the child and teaching it to conform--in order to prepare it to take its place in society. (4)

But childrearing literature between 1914 and 1940 showed a transformation in the conception of the child from an emphasis on control to an emphasis on nurturing. Martha Wolfenstein's review of that literature revealed that rather than seeing the child as endowed with strong and dangerous impulses, the child had been transformed into almost complete harmlessness. By the 1940s, what the baby wanted had become a legitimate demand. Gone were admonitions to keep the child on a regular schedule for eating and sleeping and to avoid too much coddling. Instead, parents were instructed to let the needs expressed by the child be their guide. (5)

As the construction of childhood shifted, so too did attitudes about children's literature. Beginning in the seventeenth century, expurgated versions of the classics were produced for the use of children, part of the growing practice of separating leisure time into adult and children's activities. (6) As Jacqueline Rose points out in her analysis of Peter Pan, children's fiction constructs the child, since it is an adult perception of childhood at work. Wolfenstein suggests that in the nineteenth century there developed among certain prominent writers a longing for the "charmed age of childhood" and a desire to return to "magical thinking" forbidden by the adult world of science. The child became both the guardian and repository of the fanciful and romantic. Wolfenstein adds: "Certain sectors of adult consciousness, otherwise muted and denied, could find expression in telling tales for children ... making stories specially for children arose out of an adult necessity." (7)

However, as Mark West notes in his book on the history of controversy over children's culture, after the Civil War some children themselves became direct consumers of children's culture. The books they selected on their own dealt with violence and other things that, according to the concept of childhood, children were not supposed to find interesting. He writes, "The popularity of these types of culture among children suggested that they were not as innocent as some adults wished them to be." Reformers attempted to reconcile this idea with the cultural tastes of "real children" by suggesting creators of this type of culture somehow seduced children into liking stories with violence, crime and sexuality. (8)

Ellen Wartella and Sharon Mazzarella examined the history of children's leisure time, noting that autonomous youth cultures developed during the twentieth century and the mass media played an important part in promoting and sustaining these youth cultures. There was an increasing concern about how children were spending their leisure time, and in the 1920s that concern became centered on a "peer-oriented leisure-time culture, a culture independent of adults, outside the home, unsupervised, and increasingly commercialized." (9) Campaigns against movies and radio were the precursors of the comic book controversy that surfaced in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

The modern comic book was a relative new-comer, making its appearance in the mid-1930s. With the tremendous popularity of titles featuring super-hero characters such as Superman, Batman and Wonder Woman, they quickly achieved a place in American culture. As early as 1940, critics were taking comics to task. One frequently-quoted example was an editorial castigating comic books written by literary critic Sterling North published in the Chicago Daily News.

But it was not until a declining interest in superheroes led publishers to create other genres to attract readers that criticism of comics became widespread. Two genres in particular, the crime and horror genres, attracted an great deal of criticism because of their graphic violence. Another genre that came in for criticism were the "jungle comics" featuring covers with scantily clad women who were often tied up and threatened with some horrible fate. (10)

There were attempts by some publishers to provide "wholesome" comics for children, in keeping with adult sensibilities about children. These included the "funny animal" comics, classics adapted to comic book form, and comics focusing on true-life adventures such as those produced by the publisher of Parents' Magazine. But the crime and horror variety dominated the market, with the most popular titles selling more than a million-and-a-half copies a month. (11)

Criticism of the Comics: An Analysis

Criticism of the comics appeared in the popular media throughout the 1940s, but many historians maintain the campaign against them received new impetus when Dr. Fredric Wertham, a New York child psychiatrist, joined the fight in the late 1940s. Wertham published articles in a number of popular magazines, was a guest on radio talk shows, and was called upon as an expert witness as various government commissions studied the problem of comic books. It was his book, Seduction of the Innocent, published in 1954, that most completely summarized his arguments against comic books. His credentials enabled him to speak through both the academic and popular press and established him as an expert in a post-war society that was learning to rely heavily on expert advice in all facets of public and private life.

But Wertham's was not the only critical voice, and his view of comic books was only one of many that were circulating during this period. In examining articles about comics in the popular press (ranging from publications from Reader's Digest to the Saturday Evening Post), the professional and religious press (such as the Elementary School Journal, Wilson Library Bulletin, and the Catholic Digest), and the academic press (the Journal of Educational Sociology devoted two complete issues to comic books in the 1940s), I found that the discourses about comics fell into roughly three broad categories.

I have labeled these discourses the individual, the social, and the cultural. Each discourse is characterized by the differing concerns expressed about comic books and their effects on children.

Two of those discourses address the possible linkage between comic books and juvenile delinquency, but they take opposing viewpoints. The individual discourse saw excessive comic book reading as a symptom of children's problems. Abnormal children, the children already predisposed to delinquency, were most affected by what they read. The normal child, on the other hand, knew the stories in comics were not real and used them to escape into a fantasy world. Moreover, comic books focusing on crime and violence actually provided children with a healthy outlet for expressing anger and aggression. The solution for eliminating those comics that parents found distasteful was to have individual parents monitor their children's reading and provide more attractive alternatives to reading comic books. The social discourse, on the other hand, sought to establish that comic books were a causal factor in juvenile delinquency. The children who were most vulnerable to the influence of comic books were normal children who became desensitized to violence through a steady exposure to the crime and horror in comics. The solution was to take legal measures against the distribution of such harmful fare. The third discourse, the cultural, addressed the effects of comic books on children's culture, especially the development of tastes in art and literature. It was articulated primarily by those concerned with preserving children's culture and educating children--expecially teachers and librarians--and was addressed to both professionals and parents.

The first discourse is identified as the individual discourse because it sought to define the problem of comic books as largely a personal one. This discourse resonated with those about delinquency during this period. According to Gilbert, most post-war juvenile experts believed that delinquency was caused by disruption of the family structure. Problems of juvenile delinquency could be traced back to the individual child's family environment. And it wasn't only juvenile delinquency that was defined in this way. Emily Tyler May, in her examination of American families in the 1940s and 1950s, suggested that during this period the "therapeutic model," with its reliance on professionals, was extended into many areas of family interaction. The expert advice called upon individuals to adapt to a given situation, rather than identifying and exploring the circumstances that made life stressful and difficult. She writes, "In that way, expertise reinforced the political consensus by pointing to individual weaknesses, rather than to structural or institutional flaws, as the sources of problems." (12)

The belief that a good home was protection against social ills was clearly articulated in this individual discourse. One article put it this way: "Given a proper home environment, incentives to read good books and an untroubled mind, many children can read the worst the world has to offer and, none the worse for the experience, be done with it." (13)

Another pointed out:

> Like it or not, there is no escaping the fact that the home itself is the most potent and most decisive influence of all on children's reading and attitudes and susceptibility to outside influences ... The first line of defense against undesirable influences of all kinds is in the home. Good citizenship begins at home." (14)

Parents and educators were encouraged to regard comic book reading as a symptom of other problems. Wrote one mother: "If a child is reading too many comics, or the wrong ones, I'd tend to regard that as a symptom, not a cause, and I'd try to find out how to improve his relationship with the world." (15) A children's librarian argued: "The child excessively absorbed in thrillers, whether in comics, radio, or movies, should be helped to find more creative interests. The problem then is not so much to limit his reading as to help him cope with his difficulties." (16)

The mentally healthy child, parents were told, used comic books to escape from the adult world and as an outlet for aggression. One father wrote: "Children do need some 'sinful' world of their own to which they can retreat from the demands of the adult world ...." (17) A widely-publicized study done by Dr. Lawrence Averill of the State Teachers College in Worcester, Mass., asserted that children used comic books to escape from the modern world. (18) And in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee conducting hearings on comic books, Dr. Carl H. Rush, executive assistant of the American Psychological Association, told the senators that children used the comics as a means of working out natural feelings of aggression. (19)

If parents perceived comic book reading as a problem, then it was up to the parent to channel children's leisure time in more constructive ways. Northwestern University education professor Paul Witty suggested:

"After a study of the amount and nature of other leisure activities in which the children engage, one can raise the question of more desirable budgeting of time so as to obtain a balanced leisure program." He added: "The main problem associated with all the media is to be met by directing boys and girls ... so as to develop individually appropriate patterns of recreation." (20)

According to many editorials in popular magainzes, a legal solution to the problem of comic books could lead to a case of the cure being worse than the disease. Much of the fear of censorship of comics expressed by these magazines could be seen as thinly-disguised self-interest. If comic magazines could be censored, what magazines might be next? In an editorial March 19, 1949, Nation wrote: "Comic books are an opening wedge. If they can be 'purified'--that is controlled--newspapers, periodicals, books, films and everything else will follow." (21) Educators, too, were uncomfortable with the idea of censorship. In an editorial titled "To Burn or Not to Burn?", Senior Scholastic wrote:

> Book burnings and emotional orgies are not the answer. They have been used for centuries by tyrants and censors to get rid of books they considered bad. They partake of the very violence we deplore in bad comic books. Flames can be dangerous things. Sometimes they get out of control and destroy priceless literature. (22)

And controversy over comics was viewed with a certain skepticism. One editorial noted:

> And the present crusade, in fact, has been dismissed by competent psychiatrists as 'much ado about nothing,' or more exactly, as an effort by guilt-stricken parents to find a scapegoat for their own failure to educate their children for a healthy maturity." (23)

Commented one city official:

> We further believe that some of the more extreme national critics of the comic books and the cartoon art form have been motivated more by a desire for publicity than a sincere interest to achieve corrective results." (24)

While the individual discourse represented delinquency as an individual problem with its roots in the way the individualc hild was raised, others believed that delinquency was a social, rather than an individual, problem. This second discourse, which I've labeled the social, was articulated by Dr. Fredric Wertham and others who placed the blame on the social environment. Wertham's book Seduction of the Innocent served to expand on and summarize his views which were widely quoted and reprinted even before publication of his book. His arguments are the clearest articulation of the social discourse about comics.

Wertham was disturbed by the commercialization of children's culture and the mass distribution of comic books. As Gilbert has noted, many of Wertham's ideas about comic books can be traced back to the intellectual tradition of the Frankfurt School and their critique of mass culture. (25) Wertham believed the wide circulation of comics led to a "mass conditioning" of children, writing that, "Children are most susceptible to influences from society at large in their leisure hours. And children's leisure is on the market." (26) He added:

> One thing true of all media is that many people glibly discount their influence on children. But they have a continuous impact on masses of children that would have been unheard-of in former times and they really mediate between the child and his environment. (27)

Wertham was aware that his views went against the grain of theories of the time, but he insisted that juvenile delinquency was a mass phenomenon that could not be understood or remedied "by redefining it simply as an individual emotional disorder." (28)

Although many of Wertham's critics and historians have labeled Wertham's views "monocausal," Wertham never asserted that comic books, by themselves, were the cause of juvenile delinquency. But he did believe that they were one factor. The German-born psychiatrist became preoccupied in the early 1940s with preventing violence and began studying its causes. His subjects came from a cross-section of children he saw at his clinics, children referred to him from public and private child-care agencies, by the courts, and ones he saw in his private practice. (29) He concluded a causal relation existed between reading comics and delinquency. He wrote: "It is our clinical judgment, in all kinds of behavior disorders and personality difficulties of children, that comic books do play a part." He added: "Whenever the question of the harm done by mass media is raised, the easy retort is that it is all up to the family. But the family itself is invaded with an all-around amphibious offensive." (30) The effect of comic books, Wertham wrote, was the "moral disarmament" of children. Comic books affected children's character, attitude and their ability to judge between right and wrong. He believed comics also desensitized children to violence and horror. He wrote: "If they have a revulsion against brutality, crime comics turn this revulsion into indifference." (31)

While Wertham's views were widely-publicized in articles he wrote and others in which he was quoted, the social discourse was articulated by others, although perhaps less eloquently. Myrtle Gourley's "A Mother's Report on Comic Books" concluded this way:

> What happens when the wrong things are pounded into the youngsters' heads, day by day, comic book by comic book? Truly I hate to guess, but I know for certain that is shouldn't happen to my children -- or to yours. (32)

The solution to the problem was to be found in social controls, because it was too widespread for the individual family to handle. Wrote one librarian: "The problem has gone beyond the control of parents ... I shall ask conscientious parents and other citizens to urge swift passage of a state crime comic censorship law." (33)

The solution Wertham proposed was legislation forbidding sales of comics to children under sixteen, but most of the solutions proposed in this discourse did center around censorship. Many called for the use of existing postal laws to prevent the distribution of obscene and objectionable material. City censorship boards were set up to pressure local distributors into removing objectionable comic books. A number of states appointed committees to look into the possibility of regulating comic books through state legislation. But none of these proposals had much effect on the comic book industry. Even a code of editorial practices adopted by the Association of Comics Magazine Publishers in 1948 had little impact on the industry since many publishers simply refused to join the association. (34)

The third discourse about comics differed from the individual and the social discourses because delinquency was not an issue. It concerned itself with the effects of comics on children's culture. The debate centered around whether comic books prevented children from developing reading skills and also whether they affected a child's ability to appreciate fine literature and art. One article in the Wilson Library Bulletin urged mothers to take the same care in selecting reading material as they did in dressing their children:

> Why are we so blind to the insidious effect of the incredibly ugly comic book? Mothers who would not let their children be seen in poorly fitting clothes of shoddy material and unbecoming colors are quite complacent, or perhaps non-thinking, concerning the effect of the comic book on their children's minds ... They are the cheapest, most inartistic, worthless form of literature today. (35)

Argued another critic: "Since much of the artistic material is of a very low standard, it does not help to develop a good sense of discrimination in artistic matters." (36) One educational journal noted:

> Children and youth should be taught to discriminate not only between good and bad but between good and mediocre ... The challenge of comic

> books to education is to direct as much attention to the quality of reading matter as has been given to the mechanics of teaching reading. (37)

Wertham, too, contributed to this discourse about comics. In a book chapter titled "Retooling for Illiteracy," he noted that children who do not read the classics lose an important link with the older generation, and children also lose interest in have adults read to them. Comic books also prevent children from acquiring basic reading skills. (38)

The Comics: Challenge to Authority

From the review of the discourses surrounding the controversy over comic books, it's clear that neither the experts nor the positions they presented in the popular press produced a consensus about the nature of the problem, the effects or the solution. But one thing that all critics seemed to be in agreement on was the fact that comics, for whatever reason, were not the most desirable reading material for children. The comics of the 1940s and early 1950s did feature graphic representations of violence, torture, rape, drug abuse and criminal actions, and it's clear why adult sensibilities were offended.

But an exploration of some of the underlying themes to be found in the crime and horror comics provide an additional clue as to why adults during this period disliked these comic books so intensely.

Most of the crime and horror comics dealt with either authority relationships or family relationships. Parents were expected to raise their children to respect law-and-order and their elders. But, as Wertham and others pointed out, the life of crime was often depicted as much more exciting than being a law-abiding citizen. And while in the last panel of most crime stories the criminals are somehow brought to justice, the lesson in the previous panels seemed to be that police are extremely stupid and that the biggest mistake you can make is getting caught.

In fact, the comic book codes passed in 1948 and 1954 targeted this disrespect of law enforcement in their lists of what was forbidden. The 1948 code read, in part:

> Crime should not be presented in such a way as to throw sympathy against law and justice ... Policemen, judges, government officials, and respected institutions should not be portrayed as stupid or ineffective, or represented in such a way as to weaken respect for established authority. (39)

Similarly, the 1954 code established the the Comics Magazine Association of America, read:

> Crimes shall never be presented in such a way as to create sympathy for the criminal, to promote distrust of the forces of law and justice, or to inspire others with a desire to imitate criminals ... Criminals shall not be presented so as to be rendered glamorous or to occupy a position which creates a desire for emulation. In every instance good shall triumph over evil and the criminal punished for his misdeeds. (40)

The sanctity of the American family was also under attack in the comics. Writes Savage: "The horror-suspense genre offered an examination of America's dark side, specializing in grim views of society in general and of domesticity in particular." The line of horror comics published by William Gaines, often cited by critics as one of the worst offenders, specialized in stories that laid waste to the ideal image of the family. (41)

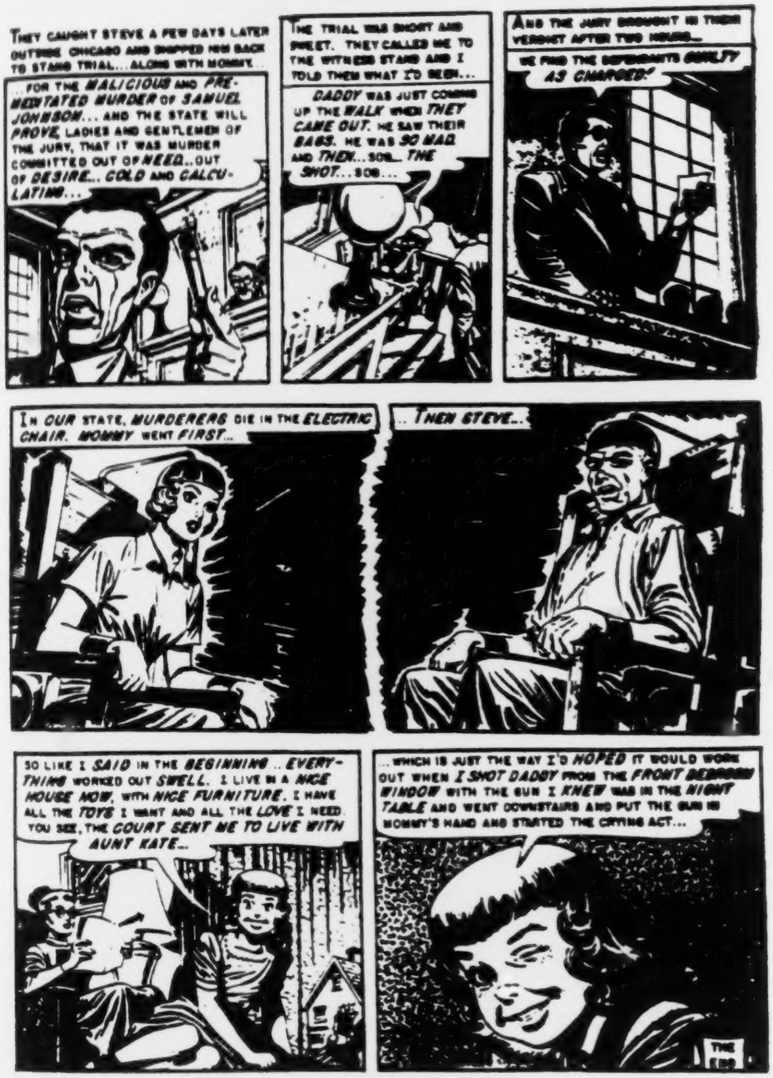
One story in particular, "The Orphan" (Shock SuspenStories, No. 14, April-May 1954), drew especially heavy criticism. Its protagonist is a little girl named Lucy whose home life is filled with abuse. She shoots her father and successfully frames her mother and her mother's lover for the crime. The story shows both dying in the electric chair and features a close-up of Lucy in the last panel giving the reader a knowing wink as she goes to live with her beloved aunt. (See Figure 1)

British historian Martin Barker suggests that this story, which undermines the image of childhood and of the family, angered adults because it hit too close to home. He argues that Lucy is intended as an abstraction of childhood and her actions force the reader to rethink the ideology of childhood. He writes:

> In 'The Orphan' apparently all Lucy wants is what every child is said to deserve: love, a good home, etc. But the manner of her getting it, and in particular the manner in which we learn about how she got it, subverts the very ideas of childhood and her wanting the things that are supposed to be part of childhood. (42)

It is impossible to say what meanings and pleasures children derived from these comics because nobody asked them. One can only speculate that perhaps the very anti-authority themes their parents found so disturbing may have been an attractive respite from the demands of the adult world.

FIGURE 1. The last page of the comic book story "The Orphan."


THEY CAUGHT STEVE A FEW DAYS LATER OUTSIDE CHICAGO AND SHIPPED HIM BACK TO STAND TRIAL... ALONG WITH MOMMY...
...FOR THE MALICIOUS AND PRE-MEDITATED MURDER OF SAMUEL JOHNSON... AND THE STATE WILL PROVE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY, THAT IT WAS MURDER COMMITTED OUT OF NEED... OUT OF DESIRE... COLD AND CALCU-LATING...
THE TRIAL WAS SHORT AND SWEET. THEY CALLED ME TO THE WITNESS STAND AND I TOLD THEM WHAT I'D SEEN...
DADDY WAS JUST COMING UP THE WALK WHEN THEY CAME OUT. HE SAW THEIR BAGS. HE WAS SO MAD AND THEN... SOB... THE SHOT... SOB...
AND THE JURY BROUGHT IN THEIR VERDICT AFTER TWO HOURS...
WE FIND THE DEFENDANTS GUILTY AS CHARGED!
IN OUR STATE, MURDERERS DIE IN THE ELECTRIC CHAIR. MOMMY WENT FIRST...
...THEN STEVE...
SO LIKE I SAID IN THE BEGINNING... EVERY-THING WORKED OUT SWELL. I LIVE IN A NICE HOUSE NOW, WITH NICE FURNITURE. I HAVE ALL THE TOYS I WANT AND ALL THE LOVE I NEED. YOU SEE, THE COURT SENT ME TO LIVE WITH AUNT KATE...
...WHICH IS JUST THE WAY I'D HOPED IT WOULD WORK OUT WHEN I SHOT DADDY FROM THE FRONT BEDROOM WINDOW WITH THE GUN I KNEW WAS IN THE NIGHT TABLE AND WENT DOWNSTAIRS AND PUT THE GUN IN MOMMY'S HAND AND STARTED THE CRYING ACT...
THE END

Parenting in Post-War America

The controversy over comic books did not, of course, take place in a vacuum. One way to place the comic book controversy into a larger context is to examine the more general attitudes about parenting during the post-war period.

My primary source in examining those attitudes was Parents' Magazine between 1948 and 1954. During the post-war period, it was the dominant popular magazine devoted to the topic of child rearing. It was started in 1926 as Children, the Magazine for Parents with a charter subscription of 25,000. Its name was changed to Parents' Magazine in 1929. Between 1948 and 1954, its circulation grew from 1 million to 1.4 million readers. While its circulation was not as large as the general-topic women's magazines of the time (Good Housekeeping's circulation was three million readers, and Ladies Home Journal had four million subscribers), publisher George Hecht estimated his magazine reached the parents of 2.5 million children annually. (43)

In addition to articles about children, the magazine featured special sections devoted to food, the home and fashion. While the magazine purported to discuss childrearing "from crib to college," the focus was on the infant and pre-school child during the post-war period. The magazine featured articles both by experts in child psychology and development and by "ordinary" parents. Stated Hecht:

> There has been and still is a curious tendency to overlook or belittle what parents can contribute to the better understanding and guidance of children. The emphasis is apt to be put on the contribution of "experts." (44)

Thus, while acknowledging the important role experts played in attitudes toward parenting, the magazine also sought to link together parents who were raising their children in virtual isolation as young married couples moved away from ties with the extended families that traditionally provided guidelines for childrearing.

While the articles in Parents' Magazine are not a direct reflection of parents' beliefs and actions during the 1940s and 1950s, they do provide a way to examine the changing attitudes towards raising children. Margaret Mead notes:

> The existence of literature telling parents how to bring up children is indicative of a changing culture. In traditional cultures, where the same pattern is repeated from generation to generation, the elders are authorities in these matters ... American parents ... turn(ed) to the contemporary expert ...." (45)

But she adds that the transmission is not simple or direct:

> Procedures recommended by the experts represent an ideal, and there are always discrepancies between ideals and everyday behavior ... (but) it seems likely ... that the precepts in child-rearing literature in part coincide with widely held beliefs of the culture and in part urge reform. (46)

The popularity of magazines like Parents' was part of a larger move in post-war America toward reliance on expert advice and a desire to "professionalize" everyday life. The tremendous popularity of books such as Benjamin Spock's Baby and Child Care reflected a reluctance to trust the shared wisdom of kin and community. Spock's book was originally published as the Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care in 1946 and was revised in 1957 and sold millions of copies. (47)

In addition, many educated women "professionalized" homemaking and made it their career, investing it with skills, prestige and importance and sought to elevate childrearing to that same level, complete with guidebooks and standards. The success of a woman might be reflected in the number of children she raised successfully. In fact, childrearing was seen as one way in which parents could exert influence on the world. (48)

Readers of *Parents' Magazine* would find very little direct criticism of the mass media. Serafina Bathrick's analysis of the magazine's coverage of television during this period noted that it refused to make a scapegoat of the mass media. Instead, articles stressed the importance of a strong family life, with the mother serving as mediator between mass entertainment and the family. The magazine devoted very few articles to television. Those that do appear are written by experts who tell them how to integrate the new medium into family life. (49)

Comic books, too, escaped scrutiny. While the magazine published the results of citizen's committee in Cincinnati that rated comic books on a scale of A (not objectionable) to D (very objectionable), the magazine published only four articles about comic books between 1948 and 1954, all reassuring parents that the threat of comic books could be contained within the family.

The first, "Common Sense About Comics," appeared in the October 1948 issue and was written by Katherine Clifford, identified in her byline as "mother of four children." She stated up front: "At our house, we don't worry about comics." Instead, her children were allowed to read comics and what's more, she and her husband occasionally read comics as well and discussed them with their children.

The article sets parents against the experts who predict dire consequences from reading comics:

> I wonder if any child who has a happy home, whose parents have done their job well, and who enjoys his school, family and friends ever suffers any real damage from reading comics. I don't know the answers. I'm a mother, not a psychologist. I just wonder. (50)

The article suggests that comics have been made the latest "whipping boy" and concludes that since children won't give up their comics, parents might as well concentrate on giving them the best.

In its October 1949 issue, the magazine ran an article by Nochem Winnet, a municipal judge in Philadelphia, "A Judge Looks At ... Comics, Movies and Radio." His expertise is established in the sub-head: "Shrewd advice for parents from a man who knows what often lies behind delinquency." He reassured parents that there is no real evidence that delinquency is linked to the mass media. He also pointed out that not only would censorship be worse, but that there is "danger in overprotecting our children" from reality. He placed the responsibility for controlling comics squarely on the family: "There is no one thing that is more effective in rearming our children morally than the doing of good things together." (51)

In 1950, in the November issue, the actions of a committee in Falls Church, Virginia, are detailed in "They Pick Their Books with Care." The article tells how the children in the community "are trained to tell a good comic from a bad one." A committee posted a "White List" of acceptable comics in the local library, and teachers allowed children to bring comics to school and help them to sort the good from the bad. In addition, committee members monitored what merchants were offering for sale and encouraged them to return objectionable comics to distributors. (52) As this article makes clear, not all comic books are bad, and children can be relied upon, with guidance from adults, to choose appropriate reading material.

The fourth article, "Children Rate the Comics," appeared in the March 1951 issue. It was written by Robert Conway, a sixth grade teacher, and explained how children could be taught to "refine their judgment" about comic books. Children were asked to prepare a bundle of comics to send to school children in England. While doing so, the author noted, the children began to realize that the comics they read might give other children "a pretty strange picture of us and our American customs." The article includes a number of quotes from children recorded by a parent who was in the classroom during this exercise. With some prompting children begin to tell their teacher that the comics make them afraid and the information about how to commit a crime is "awful." Commented one little girl: "Some make me sick -- they are too horrible to read." The author concludes: "In other words, children can be good critics of the comics!" (53)

All four articles, and the publication of the ratings of the Cincinnati group, serve to reassure parents that they and their children have the means to control the problem of comic books without having to resort to outside authorities. There may be a number of reasons why Parents' Magazine took this position on comic books. First, the company that published Parents' was itself in the comic book publishing business from from 1941 to 1950. They published the first educational comic book, True Comics, which debuted in April 1941. It featured stories about real-life heroes, historical adventurers and medical and scientific discoveries. (54) Second, like other magazine publishers, the publishers of Parents' might have wanted to avoid raising the issue of censorship for fear that permitting one type of magazine to be censored may lead to undesirable consequences for the publishing industry. And one comic book publisher, Dell Publishing, was so angry at an article attacking comics published by the Ladies Home Journal in November 1953 that it pulled its advertising from the Journal's sister publication, the Saturday Evening Post, and intimated it was considering legal action against the Journal. (55) Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the opinion expressed in these articles that any problems with comic books could be handled within the family structure resonated with the general advice the magazine was giving to parents about how to raise their children. Like most of the childrearing literature of the period, Parents' Magazine was a advocate of permissiveness in child care. This permissiveness was the result of a gradual change in attitude toward the parents' role in raising children. Earlier literature stressed the importance of keeping children on a strict schedule for feeding and sleeping and allowing children to cry rather than to reward such behavior with feeding or rocking, since such maternal indulgence was thought to create undisciplined children. In post-war child care literature, mothers were urged to monitor the baby for cues on when and how to act. (56)

This new approach carried with it a whole set of worries for the mother who realized that the way she had been raised was no longer an appropriate model. Especially difficult for parents was the changing attitude towards discipline, judging by the number of articles in Parents' Magazine devoted to that topic. Every issue of the magazine between 1948 and 1954 featured at least one article on the topic, sometimes more. Over and over again, parents are told to respect their children as individuals, to allow them to act like children and not expect too much, and to find creative ways to deal with problems rather than resort to punishment.

For example, an article titled "Don't Force Your Child to Be a Yes Man" stresses the importance of allowing the child to say "no" and warns parents that a child who doesn't sometimes disagree with a parent is a "dangerously submissive one." (57) In "Discipline: What Is It?" parents are told not to confuse discipline with punishment. Parents should help guide their children towards self-control and not expect more of a child that he can give at his particular age. Spanking is not desirable. (58)

Moreover, problems with children are often seen as a reflection of problems with parenting skills. In "Can You Relax and Take It?", the author notes that difficult or problem behavior is often the result of tension in the home and that children need emotionally stable parents. (59) Children use parents as role models. In "Teaching a Child to Behave," readers are told that the most important things our children learn, they learn by example. Parents need to provide love, affection and understanding. (60)

As children become older, the type of discipline used by parents must change in order to show respect for the child and his abilities to make his own decisions. In "Discipline for the Older Child," the author emphasized the need to allow children to express their opinions. Children are ready to assume an increasing amount of responsibility for their own actions and self-direction. (61)

The childrearing advice in Parents' Magazine stressed the importance of helping and guiding children rather than controlling them. There is no problem that cannot be solved with a loving home environment, and parents should carefully evaluate that environment when problems arise. It is important to see children as individuals with their own opinions. Children are to be allowed as much freedom as possible, and this freedom is seen as essential in their development.

Conclusion

In placing the controversy over comic books within the larger context of popular childrearing advice, it becomes clear that the social discourse articulated by Wertham and other critics would have little resonance within this framework. Rather, the discourse which most closely parallels the definition of the parents' role is the individual discourse, with its emphasis on the family as the most appropriate place to deal with the problem of comic books.

The assumption that the public outcry against comics was a bottom-up reaction to the medium that experts merely represented must be called into question. It was the experts who raised the alarm, and I believe a closer examination of the campaign waged against comics will show that the groups who became most concerned were various educational, religious and civic groups as well as legislative bodies who were acting more out of concern that children's leisure activities were escaping their control than from any direct pressure from parents. It may well be the involvement of these well-organized groups with a wide sphere of influence through church groups, parent-teacher organizations, and various civic organizations that produced the outcry against comics that has commonly been attributed to parents.

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"May the Good News Be Yours":

Ralph Renick & Florida's First TV News (WTVJ, Miami, 1949-1957)

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"May the Good News Be Yours":
Ralph Renick & Florida's First TV News (WTVJ, Miami, 1949-57)

"Who would have ever thunk it?"

So began Ralph Renick's commentary on Miami's Channel 6, WCIX-TV, the night of August 8, 1988. Renick had delivered more than 5000 editorials during his 35 years as news director of Channel 4, WTVJ-TV, Miami's first television station and a longtime CBS affiliate. Now he was obviously enjoying the delicious irony. Because the subject of his comments tonight on Channel 6, his new home, was the announcement of the long-rumored switch of CBS affiliation from WTVJ to none other than WCIX, a change scheduled to take place New Year's Day. Thus, as of January 1, 1989, Renick, credited with the very invention of the TV editorial, was back on CBS again, *deja vu* for the millions of Miamians who remember the near-decade when Renick, WTVJ, and CBS were the only game in town.

WTVJ signed on March 21, 1949, and the news began on a regular basis in July, 1950. News director and anchorman Renick was to remain at the station until he resigned in 1985 and announced he might run for governor.

Miami, the Magic City, was a unique setting for the inauguration of television news in Florida. The personalities of the news pioneers were to have a great impact on the subsequent development of the industry. With the advent of the other two VHF network affiliates in 1956-57, the pioneering era drew to a close, but WTVJ then initiated the news editorial and remained dominant in the market until Renick's retirement.

The 1989 shake-up in the local TV market confused Miamians for a while: WTVJ became the NBC affiliate and WPLG, Channel 10, remained ABC, leaving WSVN, Channel 7, the non-network independent.[1] Now that the dust has settled on the first major change after a 40-year era of stability, it seems an appropriate time to look back on those years when WTVJ News had the market to itself, when Renick's tagline, with which he signed off each evening's news, became a trademark in local TV journalism: "Good night, and may the good news be yours."

WTVJ-TV, Miami

By 1950, metropolitan Miami had about a third of a million people. In some ways, Miami, with a tradition of racial segregation, was typical of the South. "Whites Only" signs were posted near drinking fountains. More than 100 Miamians would be killed in the Korean War. The area had suffered recent floods which led the Army Corps of Engineers to begin its billion-dollar system of canals. Evidence of the Red Scare would include the defeat of U.S. Senator Claude "Red" Pepper by George Smathers. And of major interest to Miamians: in 26 years of archrivalry in football, Miami Edison had never defeated Miami Senior High.[2]

However, in some ways Miami was atypical. Its proximity to Cuba meant above-average interest in the growing ferment. The influx of Northerners after World War II had created an attitude of resentment on the part of the "Pork Choppers" and Good Ole Boys in the rest of the state toward Florida's largest city.

Above all, Miami had the deserved reputation as the winter home of organized crime: both local dailies, the Miami Herald and the Miami (Daily) News, won Pulitzers for their coverage of local corruption. Several dozen gambling clubs had operated rather openly, one of them actually on city property. Shortly after the war, a group of local citizens, including newspaper publishers and radio broadcasters, had formed the Greater Miami Crime Commission to initiate efforts to clean up the town.

At seven p.m. on March 21, 1949, WTVJ-TV signed on: it is estimated there were fewer than 2000 TV sets in Miami. Within a year or two, an estimated 34,000 families in Miami could watch television in their own homes.[3]

The Wometco Company which owned the station was headed by Mitchell Wolfson, former mayor of Miami Beach, who, with his partner, Sidney Meyer, had developed a 30-theatre chain of movie houses. Most television-station owners in other towns at the time were either newspaper publishers or radio broadcasters.[4]

Actually, of the six companies vying for the TV license in 1948, five were radio-station owners, and the competition was uglier than Wometco's P.R. people would encourage viewers to remember. The theatre group was charged with "concealment and misrepresentation" regarding financing plans for the station, and the ensuing investigation delayed the license for nearly a year.[5]

Meanwhile, the community eagerly anticipated the arrival of television. One society columnist suggested that to appear "in the know" one should casually refer to television as "video."[6] Another writer called television the "biggest event since the Florida land boom."[7]

Once it signed on as the first TV station in the state, WTVJ began to claim many other firsts, such as the first televising of a hurricane's destruction and the first aerial shots from a blimp. Starting with 21 employees, the station had added a hundred more within two years; many of these remained with the station until retirement.

In 1952, WTVJ became a CBS network affiliate. On New Year's Eve, the station produced the state's first network origination with the broadcast of the Orange Bowl parade. And although two UHF stations--WFTL in Fort Lauderdale and WITV in Hallandale--made brief forays into television, for most Miamians until 1956-57, television was synonymous with WTVJ, network programming with CBS--and local news with Ralph Renick.

"The Ralph Renick Report"

Ralph Apperson Renick moved from New York to Miami with his mother and two brothers in 1940 when he was 12. He hasn't left since.[9]

After becoming the third student to earn a degree in broadcasting from the University of Miami, the six-foot-four, one-hundred-fifty-pounder had the braces taken off his teeth and went to work as an announcer at Miami's first F.M. radio station. However, the station manager decided Renick had a speech impediment and fired him. Dr. Sydney Head, the would-be-broadcaster's mentor at the University of Miami, then helped him obtain the first H.V. Kaltenborn Foundation grant to study television news, and Renick worked at WTVJ while doing his research.

In his report, "News on Television," based on a survey of the then-98 stations on the air, Renick found that three-quarters of the stations did not have a single employee devoted exclusively to the news.[9] He became a member of the small fraternity of newsmen when WTVJ offered him a job as news editor (as well as anchorman and cameraman--in fact, as a one-man news department) in 1950.

As Head recalls, Renick had expressed a desire to earn an M.A., and for the sake of the university's new broadcast program, Head would have encouraged his student to further his education. However, Head says he recommended Renick take the WTVJ job and told the young newsman: "I was gung-ho. It was an absolutely unique opportunity to get in on the ground floor at WTVJ."[10]

During his 35 years at the station, Renick won dozens of honors for his work, including two honorary doctorates. His peers elected him head of the local chapter of SDX, the Society of Professional Journalists, and national president of both the Radio-Television News Directors Association and the Associated Press Broadcasters. He was the first television member of the National News Council and became a local celebrity, active in church and civic affairs and frequently introduced as the "dean of local anchormen" and compared with his network's Walter Cronkite. In an early 1980s Florida political poll, Renick reportedly was second in name recognition only to the governor, Bob Graham. With two brothers already in politics (Robert on the local school board, Richard in the state legislature), he let it be known he was considering a run for political office and in fact announced he might run for governor upon his retirement in April 1985.[11]

The local newspapers gave front-page coverage to his retirement announcement, and it also made the New York Times. Generally laudatory, they also pointed out that Wometco had been sold after Mitchell Wolfson had died in 1983, and for the first time in 34 years Renick's newscasts had come in second in the ratings in 1984.[12]

Even prior to Renick's retirement, Renick-bashing had become a sport among some of the other local journalists in Miami. Some made fun of his monotone: a local radio station broadcast parodies of his style of news delivery on its morning show.

Renick's personal life was the subject of endless gossip. His wife had died in 1964, leaving him with six young children to raise. Renick, a Catholic, had never re-married; a charming Irishman, he had eventually become known as one of Miami's most eligible men. The station reportedly bought him a new Cadillac each year, and in addition to such percs, his salary was said to be more than $200,000 by the time he retired. As he told a national radio audience in 1984, "I never had any motivation to move. I was well taken care of."[13]

Perhaps inevitably, some critics accused him in late years of resting on his laurels, allowing staffers, most particularly his longtime secretary Ruth Sperling--later promoted to assistant news director--to oversee the budget of more than four million dollars a year, while Renick, as Vice President of News, was wining and dining executives. Renick, sitting in his living room, the most salient feature of which is a collage of family photographs, does not take such criticism kindly. He says, "It's just a very cheap shot. I don't like cheap shots. I tried to avoid them when I was in the business... I'm tired of these innuendos being in print... Every time it's in there, it's locked in for life..."[14]

And Sperling is vehement in her defense of her former boss, the man who supported her (unsuccessful) case against the new owners of the station who she claimed were guilty of age discrimination and forced her early retirement in 1983. "Renick-bashing at some point became the 'in-thing'... Ralph and I had a partnership. We worked together." She adds, "Ralph often said my job was out in the newsroom, in the trenches with the troops, and his work was out in the field, maintaining contact with people outside. There was never a time when Ralph didn't know what was happening in the newsroom."[15]

Sydney Head, Renick's early mentor and a scholar of broadcast history, says it is only natural that Renick attracted the kind of criticism he did. "Anyone who has that status and lasts that long is bound to attract criticism, especially from young people. . . . Styles had changed. He was in the Cronkite tradition, serious about news." [16]

Many of Renick's friends and former employees--and, for that matter, even his critics--agree that Renick always maintained a great deal of dignity in public and on the air. And his defenders insist that those who criticize him are not aware of, or perhaps have fogotten, the great contribution to local television journalism Renick and WTVJ made in the early years, particularly in the 1950s.

The Coming of Age of WTVJ-TV News

On July 17, 1950, "The Ralph Renick Report," a 10-minute recap of national and international news, made its debut on WTVJ. As Renick remembers it, the program began in order to fulfill the need of the public to know more about the Korean War. Until this time, the station simply had run crawls of news information against the center of the TV screen and otherwise experimented with weekly and daily news and public affairs programming.

Each day Renick would receive news film that had been shot and sent from New York by Air Express and was normally at least 24-28 hours old by the time it reached Miami. One of the colorful memories of the time is that Renick had no suitable projection room for previewing the film before adding his narrative and was forced to screen the film in the men's room of WTVJ, the picture disappearing each time someone entered to use the room for its original purpose.

To augment the film, Renick began accumulating a file of graphics, at first merely photographs cut out of newsmagazines. In December of 1950, the Miami Herald and its radio station WQAM began presenting a weekly half-hour local newscast for which they began to shoot local film. News photographer Dave Ugent "jerry-built" the film-processing equipment out of a bucket and a clothesline.

Within a year, "The Ralph Renick Report" had expanded to 15 minutes and was available to a sponsor for $250 a week. The program now included daily coverage of local events. WTVJ began coverage of meetings of the

Miami City Commission and the spring session of the Legislature in Tallahassee as well as coverage of news of national interest which was picked up by CBS. For instance, Miami was the locale of many national conventions; one of the first to be covered by WTVJ was 1951's American Legion Convention.

Nineteen-fifty-one was also the year of the three-day Senate Crime Committee hearings. The Miami Herald was to win the Pulitzer Prize that year for its coverage of the crime syndicate's control over gambling. The Greater Miami Crime Commission brought in crimefighter Senator Estes Kefauver and his Senate Crime Investigative Committee; WTVJ televised the hearings, and in an unprecedented move, cancelled several hours of regular programming.

In 1952, WTVJ expanded its studio space by renovating the old downtown Miami Capitol Theatre next door to the original television studio. Among WTVJ's 1952 accomplishments were the broadcasts of the only presidential primary campaign joint appearances by Senator Kefauver and Georgia's Senator Richard Russell. Kefauver also challenged Florida's Governor Fuller Warren (who had supported Russell) to a debate, but when Warren did not show up, the program went on as "empty chair debate" in which Kefauver answered the questions Warren had been asking—and, incidentally, went on to win the primary.

In 1953, the UHF station WITV signed on in Hallandale, just north of Miami, and began a newscast with News Director Bill Bayer. Years later, when Renick was honored for developing the broadcast editorial, Bayer claimed he had actually presented an editorial on WITV during this time. His station manager had Bayer publicly complain about the potholes on the road outside a restaurant he owned on Hallandale Beach Road.[17]

Be that as it may, in actuality Bayer's newscast offered no real competition to Renick's since so few viewers could receive UHF stations such as WITV on Channel 17. In fact, both WITV and the other local UHF, Fort Lauderdale's WFTL, each had given up broadcasting after brief attempts to compete with WTVJ.

In 1954, WTVJ broadcast the first local election rally in the area and the historic Collins/Johns debate. Charley Johns, a colorful "Pork Chopper" from the north of the state, had been appointed acting governor after the death of Governor Dan McCarty, who fell ill shortly after being elected. Governor LeRoy Collins subsequently credited his appearance on the WTVJ debate as the impetus for his victory, as it was on this program that Collins forced Johns to admit that a state turnpike was necessary in order for tourists to travel down to South Florida--and, more importantly, that the time had come for reapportionment of the state legislature so that South Florida would finally receive representational consideration in the state legislature.

The next year saw the return of Kefauver with his Senate Investigative hearings, this time 10 hours, live, on the problem of juvenile delinquency. WTVJ began using its new mobile unit to cover stories, including one of the first elaborate investigative pieces, involving a payoff to a cop by a secret agent posing as a bookie. The story made front-page headlines in the

Miami Herald and also a writeup in Life magazine.[18]

Perhaps the most notable story on WTVJ in 1956 was that in which Renick himself was called on to mediate a tense situation involving blacks in the city of Delray Beach, north of Miami. The city, as did most in South Florida at the time, had forbidden blacks to swim at the local beaches. Over the course of three days, Renick mediated 15 meetings and helped organize the final meeting at which the difficulties were settled.[19]

Another big story that year was the Kefauver versus Adlai Stevenson Presidential Primary debate in Miami. WTVJ also spent five days airing a series of special programs, "Bumper to Bumper," on the traffic situation in Miami.

In 1957, with the advent of the two other network affiliates in Miami --first NBC's WCKT (now WSVN) followed a year later by ABC's WPLG--Renick faced real competition for the first time. The response of WTVJ was to support Renick's presentation of a nightly editorial on a topic in the news. It may be difficult to remember today that at the time this was considered a novel concept, although perhaps it was a natural for Renick, who had been the first recipient of scholarship funds provided by H.V. Kaltenborn, one of the earliest radio commentators.

That historic first editorial aired September 2, 1957: it called for a local fire station on Key Biscayne, an island community in the City of Miami. As Renick points out, the first editorial did not exactly set the town afire--it was more than 10 years before Key Biscayne finally had its own fire station. However, the editorial was a milestone in broadcast journalism, and Bayer's claim notwithstanding, Renick is still being honored as the developer of the first editorial produced daily on a regular basis.[20]

The next few years saw WTVJ continue its outstanding work in local television news. In 1958 and 1959 the station was one of the first to cover pre-Revolutionary Cuba on a regular basis; much of the CBS coverage was courtesy of WTVJ. Cuban rebels even chose the lobby of the station to stage a hunger strike to protest the U.S. arrest of other rebels. And in 1959, WTVJ claimed to have the first newsmen in Cuba and to be the first to interview Fidel Castro when the Cuban government was overthrown.

That same year, in what Renick regards as a high point in his career, WTVJ sent him to Moscow, where he met with a group of newsmen and Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Coverage of this interview received wide circulation, and a photograph of Renick and the Soviet leader appeared on the front page of the New York Times.

There were subsequent examples of hard-hitting broadcast journalism, such as the 1966 WTVJ news and editorial series on crime in Miami which many credit with the outster of then-Sheriff Talmadge Buchanan and with dozens of grand jury indictments, as well as for the defeat of Miami's Mayor Robert King High in his race for governor that year.[21] In the 1970s, among the many WTVJ award-winning series were the 1971 "Swift Justice of Europe," 1972's "A Seed of Hope," and 1973's innovative "Not on the Menu."

But by this time, WTVJ was just one of half a dozen TV stations in Miami, one of the thousand or so in the country. True, the inauguration of editorials was credited with tripling the ratings of the news, and WTVJ remained in first place in local news for more than 30 years. However, subsequent glories did not compare with those heady years in the 1950s when WTVJ had the field of broadcast journalism to itself in Miami.

Conclusion

WTVJ news is credited with innovations such as production of local documentaries and remotes before any other local stations were willing to invest the time and money. And WTVJ was later to use minicams before anyone else in town.

Of course, local news at WTVJ benefitted from Renick's unique working relationship with supportive station ownership (it was unprecedented for a major-market news director to answer only to the station owner) for more than 30 years until the station was sold after Wolfson's death in 1983. And there were many talented journalists at WTVJ, as evidenced by the later network successes of such Renick proteges as Fred Francis, Ike Seamans, and Martha Teichner.

But it is Renick who is most closely associated with the success of WTVJ news. Just before he left WTVJ, Renick won his colleagues' highest recognition, the RTNDA Paul White Award. After a brief fling with a commercial venture in 1987, he returned to commentary, this time on WCIX, and received the 1988 James Madison First Amendment Award from the National Broadcast Editorial Association.

Although surely Renick did not need to work for the money--he invested the reported roughly two million dollars he made from sale of Wometco stock

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in various broadcast and cable companies--he seemed determined to keep working in broadcast news in Miami. With the switch of WTVJ to NBC and of WCIX to CBS affiliation on New Year's Day of 1989, Renick found he had come full circle--back with CBS. In September, 1990, he retired a second time from a CBS-affiliate: this time he says the retirement is permanent.

Asked the obligatory question regarding how he would like his contribution to be remembered, Renick gives an answer which reflects his concern with the original Good News: "Say I've lived a balanced life. I've tried. It's up to my peers and my children--and the Good Lord--to pass a final judgment."[22]

Renick's peers have recognized the many accomplishments of WTVJ News under his leadership. In addition to being credited with the development of the television news editorial, the station claimed to be the first to televise a hurricane's destruction and the first aerial shots from a blimp, as well as the first to send a newsman to Cuba in 1959 to interview Fidel Castro. WTVJ News is also credited as one of the first departments in the country to produce local documentaries and remotes and to use minicams.

Personalities of news pioneers such as Ralph Renick had a great impact on the development of the industry. As ABC News Nightline anchor Ted Koppel--who was ABC's Miami Bureau chief in 1968--concluded at the time of Renick's retirement from WTVJ, Renick was "a national institution in a local television market . . . . As a former viewer in Miami, I know how much the community will miss Ralph. As a colleague, I can only say the industry will miss him too. There aren't enough Ralph Renicks to go around."[23]

NOTES

[1] See "Petition to Deny GE Purchase of WTVJ(TV) Miami Filed by Sunbeam," *Broadcasting*, (March 30, 1987), p. 145; "FCC OK's GE Purchase of Miami CBS Affiliate," *Broadcasting*, (September 21, 1987), pp. 37-38; "GE Permitted to Acquire CBS Affiliate in Miami," *Pike & Fischer Radio Regulation*, Report No. 40-41, (October 8, 1987); "Affiliation Furor in Florida," *Broadcasting*, (May 16, 1988), p. 58; Steve Behrens, "Miami Braces for a Jolt," *Channels*, (June, 1988), pp. 26-27; "CBS Search for Affiliation May Still End in Ownership," *Broadcasting*, (July 18, 1988), p. 28; Steve Sonsky, "Station Purchase by CBS Scrambles S. Florida TV," *Miami Herald*, (August 7, 1988), pp. 1A+; "CBS Purchases WCIX(TV) Miami," *Broadcasting* (August 15, 1988), pp. 65-66; Steve Sonsky, "Try This One: Is Channel 10 Up for Grabs?" *Miami Herald*, (September 5, 1988), p. 1C; "Round One in Miami Affiliation Fight Goes to Sunbeam," *Broadcasting*, (September 5, 1988), p. 55; "Miami's WSVN(TV) Signs With Fox," *Broadcasting*, (October 17, 1988), p. 33; "Miami: Whole Lot of Changing Going On," *Broadcasting* (December 12, 1988), pp. 51-52; Steve Sonsky, "Six S. Florida Stations Make Historic Switch," *Miami Herald*, (January 1, 1989), p. 1A+; Juan Coto, "A Year After the Big Switch: Television Stations Are Still Grappling With Affiliation Swaps," *Miami Herald*, (December 31, 1989), p. 1K+.

[2] For general background material on Miami, see T.D. Allman. *Miami: City of the Future*, (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987); James E. Buchanan. *Miami: A Chronological & Documentary History, 1513-1977*, (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, 1978); Jack Kofoed. *Moon Over Miami*, (New York: Random House, 1955); Allen Morris *Florida Handbook*, (Tallahassee: Penninsular Publishing, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1958, 1960, 1962); Helen Muir. *Miami, USA*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1953); Arva Parks. *Miami: The Magic City*, (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1981); Bruce Porter and Marvin Dunn. *The Miami Riot of 1980: Crossing the Bounds*, (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1984); David Rieff. *Going to Miami: Exiles, Tourists, and Refugees in the New America*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987); Nixon Smiley. *Yesterday's Miami*, (Miami: E.A. Seemann, 1973); Charlton W. Tebeau. *The University of Miami: A Golden Anniversary History, 1926-1976*, (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1976).

[3] Primary sources for the general history of WTVJ include interviews with Ralph Renick, Sydney Head, and Ruth Sperling during 1986-1991; audiotape of the Larry King Show (Ralph Renick wins Paul White Award, RTNDA Convention, December 7, 1984); *News is Not a By-Product at WTVJ*, (Miami, 1957); *WTVJ Deccenial Report: 1949-1959*, (Miami, 1959); Mitchell Wolfson. *Management's Responsibility in Editorializing*, (RTNDA Convention, Nassau, Bahamas, December 1, 1972). Materials including scripts, press releases, ads, photos, and news clippings courtesy of Wolfson Media Center, access courtesy Don Chauncey and Scott Richter, Miami-Dade Public Library; access to above along with personal memorabilia courtesy Ralph Renick, "Twink," and Joe

Kline, all formerly of WTVJ, and Dr. Archie McNeal, former Director, University of Miami Libraries.

[4] In addition to daily listings and news stories in both local dailies in Miami (the *Miami Herald* and the *Miami (Daily) News*) from 1948-1957, for general history of WTVJ News see Jack Anderson, "Miami TV: In the Beginning," *Miami Herald TV Preview*, (June 16, 1964), pp. 3+; Ron Sachs, "Weighing the Anchors: Whose News is 'The Good News'?" *Miami Magazine*, (April, 1979), pp. 30-32; "Wometco's WTVJ/Miami--25 Years of TV Pioneering," *Historical Association of Southern Florida Update*, Vol. 2:2, (December, 1974), pp. 6-8.

[5] Coverage in the *Miami Herald* includes: Earl Barber, "Good Television Possible for Miami, FCC Member Says," (October 25, 1948), p. 1B; Bert Collier, "FCC Opens Probe on Finance Plan of Station WTVJ," (October 26, 1948), p. 1B; Bert Collier, "Wolfson Backs WTVJ Before FCC," (October 27, 1948), p. 1B; Bert Collier, "FCC Voices Concern on WTVJ Deal," (October 28, 1948), p. 1B. Coverage in *Broadcasting* includes "Miami TV Revoked," (August 2, 1948), p.74; "Miami TV Revocation is Suspended by FCC," (September 13, 1948), p. 27; "FCC Widens Miami Issues," (October 18, 1948), p. 90; "WTVJ Hearing," (November 1, 1948), p. 56; "WTVJ(TV): Rescind Revocation Says Walker," (January 1, 1949), p. 63.

[6] Grace Wing, "On the Wing," *Miami (Daily) News*, (May 28, 1948).

[7] Ed Eicher, "TV Nears, Bars, Hotels, Rush to Purchase Sets," *Miami Beach* Sun-Star, (June 6, 1948), p. 20.

[8] Secondary sources describing the career of Ralph Renick include the following: John Dorschner, "Renick in the Restroom, Diapers in the Refrigerator," *Miami Herald Tropic*, (March 11, 1973), pp. 33-36; Sandra Earley, "The Ralph Renick Report," *Miami Herald Tropic*, (October 3, 1982), pp. 6-10; Scott Eyeman, "The Man Who Used to Be King," *Fort Lauderdale News/Sun-Sentinel Sunshine*, (April 6, 1986), pp. 7-12; Eleanor Hulles, "Profile: Ralph Renick," *The Jockey Club*, (May, 1982), pp. 15-16; Larry King, "Ralph Renick Evaluates the Other Newscasters," *Miami News*, (October 7, 1977); Peggy Landers, "Ralph Renick: On TV...Again," *Miami Herald*, (June 14, 1987), pp. 1G+; Fred Mooke, "Whatever Happened to TV's Good News?" *Showbill* (November 1986), pp. 15-16+;"Profile: The Long Arm of the News--WTVJ Miami's Ralph Renick," *Broadcasting*, (January 5, 1976), p. 121; Paul Schreiber, "Farris & Renick: In Focus--Off-Camera," *Miami Herald Tropic*, (October 20, 1968), pp. 147+; Victoria Stuart, "Ralph Renick," *The Voice*, (October 30, 1981), pp. 12-13; Sherry Woods, "What Keeps Renick on Top?" *Miami News*, (January 19, 1977), p. 1B.

[9] Ralph Renick. *News on Television: A Report of An Investigation Carried Out Under the Terms of a Fellowship of the Kaltenborn Foundation*, (Miami, 1950). See also "Video Newscasts Reviewed," *Broadcasting*,

(June 5, 1950), p.60.

[10] Telephone Interview, August 30, 1988.

[11] See, *e.g.*, Paul Anderson, "Renick Opens Campaign for Governor With a Jab," Miami Herald (May 1, 1985); "Renick Makes Run for Governor Official," Lakeland Ledger (May 1, 1985). Renick resigned before officially qualifying, saying he found aspects of political campaigning less than pleasant.

[12] See Tom Jicha, "So Long, Ralph: 'May the Good News Be Yours--and Hopefully Mine,'" Miami News, (April 11, 1985), pp. 1A+; Bill Kelley, "After 35 Years, Ralph Renick Steps Down as TV Anchor, Hints at Race for Governor," Orlando Sun Sentinel (April 11, 1985) p. 1A; Vivian Marino, "Veteran Newsman Pulls Plug on Anchor Career," Associated Press (April 10, 1985); Steve Sonsky, "Ralph Renick Resigns After 35 Years on TV," Miami Herald, (April 11, 1985), pp. 1A+; Jon Nordheimer, "TV Anchor Since 1950 Signs Off," New York Times, (April 13, 1985), p. 46L. Also Charles Whited, "Flash Upstages Experience in TV News Biz," Miami Herald, (April 28, 1985), p. 1B; Sylvan Meyer, "The New Renick Report," Miami/South Florida Magazine, (June, 1985), pp. 57+.

[13] Audiotape: Larry King Show (Ralph Renick wins Paul White Award, RTNDA Convention, San Antonio, December 7, 1984).

[14] Interview, May 4, 1987.

[15] Interview, May 4, 1987. See also, coverage by Stephen Hedges for Miami Herald: "Age Discrimination Suit Puts Channel 4 in Spotlight," (March 4, 1987), p. 3B; "Renick Testifies He, Top Aide Were Eased Out at Ch.4," (March 6, 1987), pp. 1 C+; "TV Executive Explains Ouster of Renick Aide," (March 7, 1987), pp. 1C+; (with Felicia Lee), "Age Bias Didn't Cost Woman TV Job, Jury Says," (March 14, 1987), p. 1D. Also "Million Dollar Newsroom Age Discrimination Suit Being Tried in Miami," RTNDA Intercom, March, 1987, p. 3.

[16] Telephone Interview, August 30, 1988.

[17] See Jack Anderson, "Bayer, Not Renick, Gave 1st Editorial," Miami Herald, (July 26, 1976), p. 7D.

[18] See "How TV Caught a Cop," Newsweek, (May 23, 1955), p. 34; "WTVJ(TV) Foils a Racket," Broadcasting, (May 23, 1955), p.80; "Watching Cops Strike It Rich: TV Catches a Graft Drama in Miami," Life, (May 23, 1955), pp. 40-41.

[19] See George Vickery, "TV Newsman Makes News by Bringing Peace to a City Torn By Racial Conflict," Quill, (September, 1956), pp. 15-16.

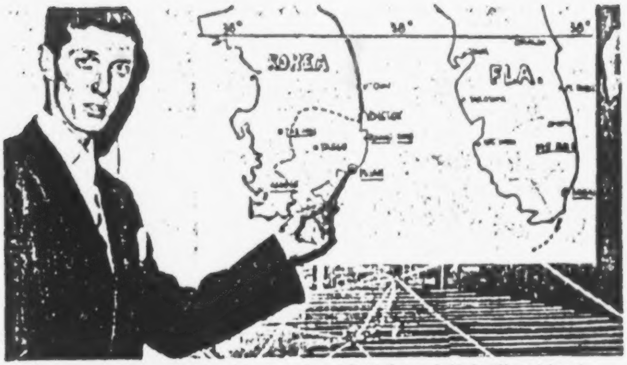
[20] Renick's pioneering work in the field of broadcast editorials has been

the subject of two PhD dissertations: Gerald V. Flannery, Local Televison Editorializing: A Case Study of the Editorializing on WTVJ, Ohio University, 1966; Paul.G. Ashdown, Television and the Editorial Crusade: A Case Study of WTVJ, 1965-1973, Bowling Green, 1975.

[21] See for example, Paul Einstein, "Camera on Corruption," Quill, (May, 1967), pp. 12-16.

[22] Interview, May 4, 1987.

[23] Quoted by Bill Kelley, "After 35 Years, Ralph Renick Steps Down as TV Anchor,Hints at Race for Governor," Orlando Sun Sentinel, (April 11, 1985), p. 1A.



1950. The Korean War began and so did a skinny boyish Ralph Renick In his first Miami telecast he used a funny looking, hand drawn map of Korea

1951. They didn't have special TV news cameramen in those days, so Renick shot the film, then reported the story

1952. Eddie Cantor gave Ralph some good advice. 5 daughters are nice Ralph took the advice He went on to top Cantor with 5 girls and a boy

1955. Spearheaded by Renick, WTVJ's exclusive scoop on Bookie payoffs was the front page headline of the MIAMI HERALD and also made LIFE magazine

1956. Who is that man with Ralph Renick? Ralph interviewed the then Vice President on Key Biscayne

1959. Our man in Moscow Renick led a group of South Florida businessmen to the Soviet Union – the first group of Americans

"May the Good News Be Yours": Ralph Renick & Florida's First TV News (WTVJ Miami, 1949-1957)

Radio-Television Journalism, AEJMC
Boston, August 1991

Personalities of television news pioneers such as Ralph Renick, News Director of WTVJ for 35 years who signed off each newscast with what became a trademark in local TV journalism, "May the good news be yours," had a great impact on the development of the industry. Renick's introduction of the TV news editorial has been the subject of two doctoral dissertations. However, other innovations of WTVJ News are heretofore unexamined, including its claims to have been the first to televise a hurricane's destruction, the first aerial shots from a blimp, the first to send a newsman to Cuba to interview Fidel Castro, and one of the first in the country to produce local documentaries and to use minicams. The development of WTVJ's News Department under the recognized "Dean of Local Television News" is a worthy subject of discussion as we examine "Television News: Past, Future, and Present."

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"Close and Objective Decisions:" The Discourse of Documentary Professionalism at the Major Networks, 1955-65

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In early 1961, when the American Medical Association challenged *CBS Reports'* analysis of "The Business of Health," Richard S. Salant, network news president, defended the documentary as the "product of experienced and professional journalists" who had spent an "entire year" preparing the program. Salant admitted that, in representing their conclusions, the news workers had used their own discretion. However, he contended that, like an umpire in a baseball game, a television documentarist renders "his close and objective decisions" without regard to personal preference or the special pleading of the opposing sides. According to Salant, news research was designed to seek out all points of view and represent them equitably. "Our purpose," noted Salant, "was not to condemn the medical profession or the AMA; it was to present all the facts, issues and viewpoints so the viewer could make up his own mind."[1]

Clearly Salant, an attorney and government lobbyist by training, was mobilizing the rhetoric of the Fairness Doctrine in the network's defense. He argued that news professionals were protecting the public's "right to know" by presenting contrasting points of view in an unbiased fashion. Furthermore, he proposed that the program should be viewed within the broader context of other news department presentations regarding the health care industry. Taking his cue from government regulators, Salant contended that all salient facts and viewpoints regarding major issues of public concern were being represented within the larger context of CBS news and public affairs programming.

Time after time, network broadcasters have argued that their right to interpret and represent issues of societal concern over the public airwaves is based on the objectivity and professional expertise which their news workers bring to the task. In the history of broadcast television this was especially true during the early 1960s, a time which often has been referred to as the "golden age" of documentary.[2] This era is important not only because there were more prime-time documentaries broadcast during this period than any other moment in television history, but also because the late 1950s and early 1960s was a time when the codes of interpretive television journalism were first worked out.

These codes remain an important part of broadcast television even though the documentary is no longer a major prime-time genre. Today, reality-based programs which broadcast long-form interpretive reports are produced by news workers who invoke the very conventions which were first constituted during this golden age of documentary. Those who observe these conventions are said to be professionals. But what is meant by the word "professional?" Often, in the field of journalism, this term refers to a reporter who is capable of reporting on an issue of significant social concern in an objective fashion. However, as we shall see in this paper, objectivity proved to be a particularly elusive concept for the documentarists of this early period. Not only did the question of interpretation rear its pesky head, but issues of narrative and filmic representation helped to destabilize the very possibility of objectivity within the documentary genre. Indeed, today, pretensions to objectivity in long-form actuality reports are relatively rare. More often, the magazine segment producer will justify her work on the basis of "fairness." Nevertheless, during this formative period of interpretive television journalism, objectivity was the concept around which the conventions of this genre coalesced.

This paper will begin by tracing the development and usage of the term objectivity within the context of American broadcast journalism. Then it will examine the problem of interpretation; a practice which has proven particularly difficult to justify in relation to the concept of objectivity. This instability was further exacerbated during the documentary era by the narrative conventions of the television medium. After a discussion of narrative issues, the paper will finally turn to an analysis of the conventions of filmic representation and the ways in which these codes further complicated the use of the term "objectivity." In essence, I will demonstrate that although the concept of objectivity was commonly referred to in relation to documentary, the concept was riddled with contradictions. Moreover, these contradictions, which continue to haunt contemporary news producers, help to explain why broadcasters are so reluctant to support documentary work which might produce surprising or controversial analyses of important social issues.

DOCUMENTARY AS AN OBJECTIVE PRACTICE

The most important conventions of the network documentarist during the early 1960s revolved around the notion of objectivity. Government regulation and the Fairness Doctrine played an influential role in fostering these conventions within the realm of broadcasting. However, we must turn to the history of American newspaper journalism in order to track the origins of these conventions and their implications for documentary practice. What did it mean for journalists to refer to their work as objective? Michael Schudson goes all the way back to the 1830s to find the foundations of objectivity being built on the terrain of an emerging, "democratic market society."[3] Here a commercial penny press appealed to middle-class readers by characterizing itself as beyond the influence of party or privilege.

However, it is also important to note, as Dan Schiller does, that this transition in journalistic practice emerged in conjunction with a growing societal fascination with positivism and science. Many influential Americans during the nineteenth century valorized science as operating beyond the caprice of human prejudice, in a world of fact and natural law. By the mid-century, says Schiller, "Scientism -- acceptance of the epistemological primacy of scientific knowledge of an objective universe -- was everywhere triumphant."[4] Everywhere, including the newspaper industry where James Gordon Bennett's popular *New York Herald* boasted its allegiance to "truth, public faith, and science."[5]

Bennett's understanding of science, like others during this period, probably was based on the principles of description and categorization. Facts were collected and placed in categories in hopes that such procedures would reveal the laws of nature at work. Scientific method was less a matter of hypothesis and experimentation, than it was an attempt to gather together a collection of facts which might reveal a natural order.

By the latter part of the century, as the writings of Darwin and Spencer began to capture the public imagination. There emerged a new emphasis on the theorization of relationships and the testing of hypotheses, a shift from the collection of facts to the connection of facts. Furthermore, as Schudson points out, notions of objective *methodology* arose only after it appeared that a collection of uninterpreted facts rendered inadequate explanations of the natural order.[6] By the turn of the century, the "logic" of scientific method was growing increasingly influential in a number of endeavors, among them the field journalism.[7] According to Herbert Gans, this was especially true among those journalists who were part of the Progressive movement.[8]

Gans contends that these middle-class reporters and news photographers sought to shed the light of rational scrutiny where the darkness of private avarice and public ignorance prevailed. Moreover, they sought to use their expertise to educate the public and invoke its support for reform. As Robert Wiebe points out, the Progressive was skeptical about the untutored wisdom of the people. But through the application of expertise and the dissemination of the resulting analysis, the Progressive demonstrated her faith in the infinite educability of the citizen.[9]

It was in this context that American journalism fostered an objective methodology which could get to the truth and activate reform. However, these two principles did not co-exist without tension. One pretended to a reverence for the objective and the empirically specific, while the other promoted advocacy and universalism. Thus, it is important to recall the roots of American journalistic enterprise as being tied to both a method and a movement. Although we shall explore this tension more completely at a later point in this paper it is important to note that method is usually given priority. Even today journalists most often see themselves less as political advocates than as professionals pursuing truth through an adherence to the ideals of objectivity.[10] And, according to Michael Schudson, such notions have played a prominent role in the discourse of both print and broadcast journalism during much of this century.

> By the 1960s, both critics of the press and its defenders took objectivity to be the emblem of American journalism, an improvement over a past of "sensationalism" and a contrast to the party papers of Europe. Whether regarded as the fatal flaw or the supreme virtue of the American press, all agreed that the idea of objectivity was at the heart of what journalism has meant in this country.[11]

To specifically define this "heart" of American journalism has never been easy. But as we have seen, the concept has involved the notion that facts can be separated from values; that they are not influenced by personal preference and therefore are open to independent validation.[12] As Robert A. Hackett puts it, objectivity is based on the notion that "the news can potentially transmit an unbiased, transparent, neutral translation of some external reality. Through the news, objects and events in the real world can be known to us as they 'really are.'"[13]

The discourse of documentary objectivity can be most productively examined in relation to this context. For the standards of print journalism were often applied to the work of television documentaries during the late 1950s and early 1960s. For example, *New York Herald Tribune* critic Marie Torre explicitly held CBS to the standard of objectivity in her review of "Trujillo: Portrait of a Dictator," a production of *CBS Reports* broadcast in March 1960.

> Reporter Bill Leonard, who spent two months on the Caribbean island, tackled the story with a probing eye, an open mind, and an economy of words. That is questions were posed more often than opinions were formulated... The result was an objective study of the Dominican Republic and the man who runs it.[14]

Thus, Torre's reading of the program treated it as an empirically-based analysis which is free of personal prejudice in its representation of objective reality. However, this did not completely foreclose the possibility that Leonard would formulate opinions. Indeed, Leonard chose the term dictator to describe an American ally, the leader of the Dominican *Republic*. He unambiguously proffered an opinion about the political propriety of Trujillo's regime and its non-republican nature.

Nevertheless, Leonard, who later became head of CBS News, shared Torre's assessment of objective truth. Both made the assumption that there is something out there in society which the documentary can represent in a faithful manner. Moreover, they contended that truth can co-exist with opinion and truth can co-exist with art. But, said Leonard, truth must be dominant in the final product:

> Producing a documentary is a complicated business... [The producer is] somebody you've got to trust. He's got to care about the truth; he's got to care about the truth much more than he cares about the art. More about the truth than what looks pretty. He must be willing to ruin films, ruin stories, not re-arrange them or throw them out, because he cares that much about truth. He must be willing to have things a little duller than he'd like them to be because that's the way they are. The trick, of course, is not to have things dull and yet still be right and still make it honest journalism. And that's not always easy.[15]

Both Leonard and Torre therefore held fast to the notion of objectivity despite their awareness of the perils posed by interpretation and artistic endeavor. In the tradition of Edward R. Murrow, both assumed that television documentary could offer a mirror-like reflection of social reality.[16] Furthermore, it should be noted that this embrace of objectivity represented a significant departure from the documentary *film* tradition which included the inspirational efforts of John Grierson, the controversial "recreations" of the *March of Time*, and the propaganda films of the second World War. Indeed, producer Albert Wasserman, who worked at both CBS and NBC during this period, has argued that network documentarists of the television era set out to develop a *journalistic* program form which was distinctive from the non-broadcast heritage of documentary.

> The whole history of the documentary film, which of course precedes television, was to a great extent a history of social indignation, allowing people who made films to express points of view about which the film maker felt strongly. With the evolution of the television documentary that is no longer appropriate. It is not appropriate for a television network to take a partisan position and to seem to be trying to force on an audience a predetermined editorial point of view."[17]

It is interesting to note that such expressions of professional restraint were offered by those who also argued that documentaries could and, in certain circumstances, should have a powerful impact on society. Murrow, Leonard, and Wasserman all contended that documentaries should move the public to action. But that power was to be tempered by professional responsibility for the fear was that, without professional standards, documentary might become indistinguishable from propaganda.[18] As Howard K. Smith put it:

> [A documentary] program should follow no line, liberal or conservative, except a rational one. It should be objective in that each issue must be judged on its own merits and without preconception... But no rules can be written about this. The reporter must be trusted for his training and record, or else dispensed with."[19]

DOCUMENTARY AS AN INTERPRETIVE PRACTICE

This equation of professionalism, objectivity, and rationalism requires that some attention be paid to the influence of Walter Lippmann, one of the leading advocates of journalistic professionalism in this century. For Lippmann had reflected deeply on the challenges confronting the journalist in the modern era and he was especially revered among news workers at all three networks.[20]

Throughout his career, which spanned the first World War and the New Frontier, one of Lippmann's focal concerns was the relationship between knowledge and citizenship. For Lippmann argued that the flood of information and misinformation which confronts the modern citizen makes it difficult for the individual to render "rational" decisions.[21] Thus, Lippmann contended that journalists could not simply gather facts and present them for public consideration. Rather, the modern era demanded that they exercise "trained intelligence," that they gather and organize the *right facts* according to a methodology unencumbered by partisan pleading or personal prejudice. The modern era also demanded that news workers interpret facts in order to assess their relevance and to assign them significance.[22] Professional journalists, argued Lippmann, should be delegated the responsibility of keeping the average citizen informed of the real forces at work in society. Lippmann's ideas elevated journalistic practice to a level of expertise which entailed analysis, interpretation, and the education of the public at large.

In 1960, when Walter Lippmann first appeared as the subject of an in-depth interview on *CBS Reports* (conducted by Howard K. Smith), the program was widely acclaimed by television critics, including the *New York Times*' Jack Gould:

> **In short, one of the Fourth Estate's most distinguished figures illustrated the true meaning of interpretative journalism calling the shots as one sees them and then explaining why... The appearance of Mr. Lippmann, his first on TV, also marks something of a turning point in the video medium itself. Not too many years ago Mr. Lippmann and quite a few other prominent newspaper writers were regarded in some broadcasting circles as 'too outspoken.' Their names turned up on at least one informal list of people who were not to be invited to broadcasts, lest they start a controversy.[23]**

Paradoxically, the same practices which made Lippmann popular among network news workers made him a troublesome figure in the eyes of network management. For Lippmann argued that journalists should make informed judgements rather than simply disseminating a body of facts. However, when controversial issues are involved, "informed judgements" can invite a backlash from powerful interest groups. These groups invariably focus their counterattack not only on the journalist, but on the broadcast network and its affiliates. In the face of FCC inquiries, public outcry, and organized pressure groups, the network executive's only defense of a program was to valorize the professional training and skill of the network's news employees. If, like Richard Salant, one argues that the journalist operates like an "umpire" at a baseball game rendering "close and objective decisions," then one is not defending incontrovertible facts, one is defending a single perspective on the existence of objective facts. Thus, network management often found itself expending time and resources to defend the informed opinions of its documentarists.

As a result, debates over documentary analysis raged throughout the early 1960s. Yet network news workers defended their right to analyze and interpret, due to the complexity of public issues. Moreover, they expressed concern about attempts by public officials and powerful interest groups to manage the flow of news and information.[24] Writing thirty-five years after Senator Joseph McCarthy's witch-hunt, Robert A. Hackett contends that the Senator's tactics had a profound effect on journalistic practice the post-war era. "[There] is a tension between impartially reporting contradictory truth-claims by high-status sources, on the one hand, and independently determining the validity of such truth-claims, on the other. The media's uncritical amplification of Senator Joe McCarthy's unfounded accusations made journalists aware of this tension, and now the concept of objectivity is sometimes taken to include interpretive and analytical reporting," according to Hackett.[25] Indeed, during the post-McCarthy period, references to the Senator became a common trope employed by journalists in defense of their interpretive responsibilities. Within the television medium itself, the Murrow-Friendly programs about McCarthy were widely touted for demonstrating the potential of professional television journalism as an antidote to the forces of demagoguery.[26]

Thus, for broadcast news workers, the documentary had an important status. Through its interpretive powers, it could defend the medium from its own superficiality and defend the profession from the manipulations of demagogic public officials. But more than that, documentary brought the most sophisticated forms of journalistic technique into the domain of television news. As a result, it boosted prestige of television journalists who were often looked down upon by their counterparts in print.

Although network management felt uneasy about the exercise of such analytic tools, the purpose of documentary programming seemed clear to news workers like Fred Friendly. Upon his appointment as executive producer of the new *CBS Reports* series, Friendly announced that the program would "provide interpretation, background and understanding at a time when comprehension is falling behind the onrush of events."[27] All three network news divisions, like CBS, assigned such interpretive responsibility to their documentary units. Analysis, according to Irving Gitlin, was put in the hands of "trained and trusted" staffers.[28] Nevertheless, the interpretive qualities of documentary work continued to be controversial. And given the pressure from management, special interest groups, and public officials, network documentarists were forced to jealously guard their claims to expertise. Fred Freed, a producer for *NBC White Paper* recounted one such instance when he and executive producer Irving Gitlin were pre-screening a documentary for a dozen network executives. The program was about the Berlin situation in 1961. Said Freed:

> At the end of it, the lights came on and nobody said anything. Everybody was waiting for [NBC Network President Robert] Kintner. Then he growled, 'I think it's okay.' Then everybody else agreed that it was fine, some even said it was very fine. Everybody congratulated Gitlin. Then somebody said something about he didn't think that the Berlin situation was quite like that. And Gitlin turned on him very sharply and said, 'You have absolutely no knowledge about that. You have no expertise and we do, and it's not a subject which you should discuss.' Kintner nodded. And that ended that."[29]

Although in this instance the debate was foreshortened, such claims to expertise were tenuous and constantly had to be reasserted by news workers. Given network desires to avoid controversy and the journalist's inability to make undisputed factual claims, the only salient defense of one's work was the claim of expertise.

However, documentarists not only had to defend their analysis, but also the implied linkage between analysis and advocacy. Note once again, that Lippmann's conception of the professional journalist implied a need to educate the masses. Such a vision was clearly familiar to network news workers in the early 1960s such as Howard K. Smith who commented, "I have long been interested in educational television because I believe that the nation that wins the Cold War will be the best educated nation."[30]

For the network documentarist, untutored public opinion posed two potential problems for society. On the one hand, NBC public affairs chief Irving Gitlin noted, "Our problem is that so much is going on [in the world] that the man in the street gets the feeling that it's too complicated and so he withdraws."[31] On the other hand, those who do not withdraw could be subject to demagoguery and manipulation. As Edward R. Murrow wrote regarding government censorship of reporting from China during the 1950s, "A leadership responsible only to an uninformed, or partially informed electorate, can bring nothing but disaster to our world."[32]

Yet once again the issue of complexity undermined the simple solution that more is better. As Lippmann argued, someone had to mediate the flood of information that confronted the lay reader. One person who shared Lippmann's concern was John Grierson, a central figure among British and Canadian documentarists. However, unlike Lippmann, Grierson was not only concerned with providing analysis, but with provoking a public response. During his early career, he was particularly fascinated by the public impact of dramatic news stories in the Hearst newspapers. Although not a fan of Hearst's ends, Grierson was clearly attracted to the means. That is, he applauded the assumption that information should not be dryly relayed to the reader, but that it must be creatively shaped. Grierson would later reflect on the lesson that he and his colleagues derived from Hearst's example, "We thought, indeed, that even so complex a world as ours could be patterned for all to appreciate if we only got away from the servile accumulation of fact and struck for the story which held the facts in living organic relationship to each other."[33] Such was Grierson's fascination with the journalism of Hearst. But, in the end, it was Lippmann, not Hearst, who proved most influential in shaping Grierson's approach. While studying on a fellowship in the United States during the 1920s, the young Grierson became acquainted with Lippmann, whose writings regarding matters of knowledge and citizenship had already achieved international renown. Indeed it was Lippmann who turned Grierson's attention away from the press and got him interested in film.

As Grierson's documentary career progressed, his work became distinguished by its emphasis on interpretation and dramatic storytelling. He unabashedly described his films as a form of advocacy aimed at achieving social effects. What is interesting for the purposes of this study, is that network documentarists would dissociate themselves from the tradition of Grierson, and yet they too were in search of similar results. As Fred Friendly put it, impact was the ultimate barometer of success for the network documentarist. "Before you can decide whether a program has been successful, you must see what impact it has. We've done some shows very skillfully, but they've had no impact," said Friendly.[34]

There were a number of ways to use the word "impact" in relation to the network documentary. It could mean that a program raised public awareness and crystallized public debate. As television critic John Crosby noted in one column:

> 'CBS Reports' on the population explosion started a ruckus in the public prints that has not died down yet and that this week graces the cover of 'Time' magazine. Well, the population explosion has been a fact of life for a long time. There have been small stories now and then, little splashes in the pond, but it took CBS to

> make the big splash that got the whole thing out in the open. Years ago, it would have been the press that started the uproar.[35]

On the other hand, impact could also mean a program which stirred some sort of action or reform. In a message to stock holders published in the 1964 CBS *Annual Report*, Friendly spoke of the impact to which his documentary unit often aspired.

> The enormous potential of broadcast journalism in this area was vividly dramatized with the television broadcast, on December 21, of "Christmas in Appalachia," a Special Report on the poverty-stricken people of eastern Kentucky. The national response to this broadcast, totally unsolicited, was remarkable. Viewers contributed more than $60,000 and 150 tons of toys, food, and clothing to the people of Appalachia in the weeks following the broadcast. At the request of CBS, the Salvation Army coordinated the collection and distribution of planes and trucks to transport supplies to the Kentucky hills. This generous public response reflected the Division's ability to engage the national community and move it to action.[36]

As Herbert Gans has noted in another context, journalists often eschew identification with political causes and reform movements. And yet, when asked to describe the desired effect of a story well-covered, they will often mention its ability to generate change or reform. Indeed, NBC producer Fred Freed once described himself as "an old-fashioned liberal, conditioned in growing up to believe that the individual can bring about change in his society."[37] Therefore, the goal of documentary work was impact, to make positive changes, to move society to action. But as Grierson noted, this would not occur simply as the product of facts. Rather, Grierson argued, and network documentarists agreed, that documentary work involved the "creative treatment of reality." In other words, the narrative component mattered and, as we shall see, this posed another problem in regard to documentary claims of objectivity.

DOCUMENTARY AS A NARRATIVE PRACTICE

As early as 1955, the news division at CBS was conducting training seminars for its radio correspondents in order to make them more conscious of the distinctive demands of television production. At one such gathering, Irving Gitlin, then head of special projects in the public affairs division, told a group of reporters that viewers would measure non-fiction programming by the same standards as fictional television. In the viewer's mind the equation is simple said Gitlin, "I want a story, I want a beginning, middle and end; I want someone I can identify myself with, and most important of all, it has to be clear and I have to understand it."[38] Unlike *See It Now's* hot news orientation, Gitlin's public affairs unit at CBS during the 1950s focussed on timeless feature documentaries. Such programs were designed to attract the viewers attention primarily through their narrative structure rather than their "news peg." In this context, the narrative became the vehicle for attracting public attention to issues which otherwise might not be considered timely. During the 1955 season, Gitlin and Albert Wasserman won a fistful of awards for a documentary they produced concerning mental illness. They had spent eight months following a single patient through psychiatric therapy in what Wasserman referred to as an attempt to do a "dramatic story without actors."[39]

However, such techniques were still the exception in network documentary at that time. Most programs were still talky and pedantic. As Fred Freed would later comment:

> [Wasserman] didn't have the film sense that he later developed. He was very, very much still -- as was almost everybody at CBS -- under the influence of Fred Friendly and the radio approach: tell 'em what you're going to tell 'em; tell 'em; then tell 'em what you've told 'em. And make everything perfectly clear every step of the way.[40]

However, by the end of the decade, the "radio approach" was losing ground. In 1957 the CBS research department issued a major study of 32 documentaries based on responses by 2500 adults. Among the findings: too much [voice-over] narration, not enough action, not entertaining, no unity or simplicity (too many scenes, characters, etc.), story gets under way slowly, too many issues and statistics. The programs which this report found most satisfactory to the audience were programs with "a strong unifying central character, a definite setting, and a strong unifying plot."[41]

By the early sixties, narrative rather than rhetorical structure had become the desideratum of the documentary producer. Although many of the programs were still rhetorically constructed, some of the most reputedly successful producers were invoking narrative strategies to deal with issues. "Anything I do I like to approach from a narrative rather than an interpretive position," commented NBC's Emmy-winning producer Reuven Frank, "Even great issues can be more successfully illuminated than expounded."[42]

That sentiment was echoed at ABC, where the network put John Secondari in charge of its nascent documentary unit. Secondari's sensitivity to narrative considerations grew out of his experiences writing scripts for "The Alcoa Hour" and "Playhouse 90." Furthermore, he came to ABC news with four novels to his credit, among them a book which was turned into the Hollywood feature film "Three Coins in the Fountain."[43] Others at ABC shared Secondari's disposition as well. Producer Edgar Peterson, in charge of a special documentary series about Winston Churchill during the war years, would liken the Churchill episodes to westerns with a hero, a villain, and a chase.[44]

Thus, network documentarists began to talk of the need to organize information in a narrative form in order to attract audience attention. They were not arguing that issues naturally lent themselves to narrative structure nor were they arguing that events and relationships in the objective world would emerge in narrative form on their own. Instead they were proposing that many of the conventions of fiction, particularly Hollywood cinema, should be applied to documentary television. By the early 1960s, even Fred Friendly had come around to talking about documentary in narrative terms, "We hope each show will be just like reading through to the last page of a detective story to discover whether the butler did it. You won't know the outcome of any of our shows until you see it."[45]

It is important to note that such a conception of the documentary is a far cry from the conventional structure of the television news story in which the punchline is delivered at the outset and the story is largely a recitation of documentation. Early network documentaries were constructed on that same principle. And in the eyes of their producers, these programs were objective and they were journalistic. But in many cases, they were also tedious.[46] Writing in 1960, Fred Friendly expressed disappointment with the narrative dimension of most network documentary.

> Millions struggle to scratch survival from the earth and other millions laboriously try their first halting steps of self-government. Modern explorers, our scientists, are testing the earth's crust, probing the icy bleak lands of the polar caps, finding the medical weapons to halt disease, and exploring space... If these real struggles of men are not more dramatic, interesting and exciting than fiction, then it is my fault, and the fault of others like me who are privileged to report, to impart to Americans some of the wonders (and crises) of the real world... Because if *we can't make it interesting*, it is because we fail as journalists.[47]

"Making it interesting" involved thinking about plot structure and character, but it also involved serious consideration of the emotional effect on the audience. As Irving Gitlin pointed out to his colleagues:

> The proper way to view what we are doing is alone, or with one or two people, seated at home, with maybe the coffee percolating in the kitchen and view it through a somewhat badly focussed screen, perhaps no larger than this (indicating two feet), and then see what your effect is... What this really adds up to is the overwhelming importance of the element of intimacy and the element of the personalized approach in TV.[48]

Such emerging concerns might best be contextualized by noting that many of the news workers at the networks during the early 1960s had matured professionally either during or immediately after World War II. They entered the profession at a time when "great issues" had commanded audience attention almost regardless of a program's structure or style. During World War II, the urgent march of events created the larger narrative framework into which the accounts of correspondents were positioned. This is not to say that radio war correspondents did not care about style, but issues and events were the first consideration. In contrast, by the sixties, documentarists felt the need to convey or even create a sense of urgency. Producers like CBS' Shad Northshield saw this element as crucial.

> In a television documentary the most important thing you have to do is induce an emotional response in a viewer. You have to make an emotional penetration first. Having done that, having gotten inside the viewer, then you give him the information. When you've done both things, you've communicated.[49]

In order to achieve such an emotional response and convey a sense of urgency it became important for news workers to attend to narrative considerations. For example, when Irving

Gitlin and his *White Paper* unit set out to do a documentary about welfare they focussed first on the story. "In doing shows of this sort," noted Gitlin, "you must start out, I believe, with a human center -- an individual or group of individuals through whom you can tell a story."[50] Thus, Gitlin and his colleagues turned not to Washington, but to a small city in upstate New York where the city manager had been receiving a tremendous amount of national attention for his campaign against "welfare chiselers." This gave the documentary a human center and a conflict and it allowed NBC to deal with the larger (unmanageable) issue of welfare in microcosm.[51] When interviewed shortly before the broadcast, producer Albert Wasserman said, "We're not interested in Newburgh for its own sake, but it's a symbol of one concept of welfare. We are trying to do it on two levels: a factual and a human level."[52] In order to achieve this goal, the crew made about 60 trips to Newburgh in order to interview subjects, gather information, and shoot about thirty hours of footage (16 mm). The program offered villains, heroes, a conflict, and even a coda in which a town judge, seated on a park bench, proposed a moral to the story.

After the program was aired, the immediate response of the city manager was to challenge the documentary's narrative strategies, charging that NBC had staged elements of the program for dramatic effect. Mitchell claimed to have exacted a "confession" from Thomas Weygant, a leading character in the documentary. In one of the closing scenes of the program, Weygant emotionally recounted the story of his family being cut from the welfare rolls immediately before Christmas. Mitchell claimed that Weygant had confessed to crying on cue from the director. This became the centerpiece of the complaint filed by Mitchell. "One of the tear-jerking highlights of the NBC documentary," noted *Variety*, "was when Weygant broke down and wept. In his 'confession,' he explained that while the NBC men were discussing what to film, he told them: 'I can cry any time.' 'That would make it better,' he said he was told."[53] He also said he was given fifty dollars by the director of the program in exchange for his cooperation.

It later turned out that Weygant recanted the confession and claimed it had been exacted under duress, but the problem of artfully constructing an objective narrative remained.[54] Whatever claims NBC made to the contrary, Weygant was clearly cast as a protagonist whose life rubbed up against the Scrooge-like machinations of the city manager. Furthermore, Gitlin and his crew carefully weighed narrative considerations in their planning and execution of the program. They had constructed a story which aimed to elicit an affective response from the audience. Perhaps they had achieved a level of intimacy with the viewer, or even "emotional penetration," but they had also destabilized their claim to represent objective reality in a neutral or dispassionate manner.

The controversy over *The Battle of Newburgh* was one of the more sensational instances which revealed this irresolvable tension between narrative and objectivity. But there were other ways in which this tension was revealed as well. For example, Friendly maintained a fastidious attachment to the 35mm film camera at a time when other documentary units had switched over to more portable 16mm equipment. While ABC was portering hand-held cameras around Latin America and NBC was sending reporters behind rebel lines in Angola, CBS crews were showing up on location with several station wagons full of gear. Not only was the 35mm camera heavier, but it required a great deal more lighting. Therefore, as Thomas Whiteside noted in a *New Yorker* profile, when a Friendly crew showed up, the filming became an event in itself.

> His business requires him to be accompanied by a tremendous clutter of equipment -- one or two thousand pounds of motion-picture cameras, extra lenses, big lights and reflectors, power converters, great coils of cable, bulky boxes of film, microphone hookups, and sound recording equipment. And he must also be accompanied by the people who operate all these devices, at the very least a cameraman, an assistant cameraman, a sound man, and an electrician.[55]

Given such logistical complications, it would have been difficult for Friendly to argue that his crews had filmed average people carrying on their everyday activities. Instead, what unfolded before the camera was a highly choreographed event. Yet Friendly said he was willing to sacrifice impromptu activity for high quality sound and photography.[56] According to him, the documentary film image, like the Hollywood film image, had to be free of blemishes and full of detail.[57]

The details Friendly most avidly pursued were those of character. He looked for people with strong convictions who would not wilt under the pressures of filming. If he could not find someone who came across powerfully on camera, Friendly was known to drop a project.[58] Thus, Friendly's selection process excluded significant subjects and issues due to the technical and narrative conventions which he associated with quality. Friendly aspired to more than objectivity. He aspired to dramatic representation of character.

Despite the clumsiness of this style of filming, Friendly was able to generate dramatic tension by juxtaposing characters from opposing sides of a controversial issue.[59] And his ability to anticipate controversial issues was legendary within the business. The executive producer of *CBS Reports* was cited by many of his contemporaries for his ability to select an issue that would be timely and controversial in 9 to 12 months when the program was ready for broadcast.[60] Thus, it could be argued that much of the narrative tension found in the CBS documentaries was generated by the extra-textual relations which obtained. Yet what made Friendly's work particularly compelling was the manner in which he heightened the dramatic impact of his characters through editing.

Interviews on *CBS Reports* were known for "crispness and pace," despite the fact that CBS documentary crews had one of the highest shooting ratios in the business. Friendly's staff would winnow through endless hours of exposed film in order to select the most salient and dramatic elements of each interview. Therefore, the drama in these programs did not simply result from the controversial nature of the topic, rather these programs are marked by a number of editing strategies which sought to heighten the effect of a character's response. As Thomas Whiteside noted:

> In the flesh, a man's face is, after all, only part of him, but in a close-up it becomes, suddenly, all of him. Every facial movement or gesture is heightened in effect, and every accompanying vocal inflection is correspondingly stressed, with the result that the whole personality of the man is peculiarly concentrated and revealed. This ability of television to accentuate character gives Friendly an opportunity to make his subjects, as he puts it, "larger than life," and it is into the job of encouraging this mysterious magnifying process that Friendly flings the full force of his professional energy.[61]

Through this process of magnification, Friendly accentuated one of the most important components of Hollywood cinema and entertainment television: character.[62] Although grossly inefficient in technique, it was agreed that Friendly could achieve striking dramatic effects through his ability to project the image of a character locked in conflict. Therefore, unlike the public affairs talk show where the issues are the focus and respondents are framed at an equal and respectful distance, Friendly's interviews would intrude on personal space of the subject in search of physical gestures and inflections which might heighten the drama of the program.[63]

However, it should also be pointed out that Friendly and the CBS unit were not unique in their use of such interview techniques. Like Friendly, NBC's Fred Freed employed similar techniques and his assessment of potential interview subjects was similarly couched in terms of drama. Regarding Robert Oppenheimer, Freed remembered him as having "the finest command of language of anybody I've ever interviewed. Not only were his sentences structured precisely, but his delivery was as perfect as any actor I've ever known. He had a quiet sense of drama."[64]

Indeed, Oppenheimer was the subject for what Freed recalled as the most moving moment of any interview he had ever filmed. The program was called "The Decision to Drop the Bomb" and Freed had asked Oppenheimer what it was like on July 16, 1945 when he witnessed the first atomic explosion. Oppenheimer responded:

> We knew the world would not be the same. Few people laughed. Few people cried. Most people were silent. I remembered the line from the Hindu scripture, the Baghavad Gita: Vishnu is trying to persuade the prince that he should do his duty, and, to impress him, takes on his mutilated form and says, "Now I am become death, destroyer of the worlds." I suppose we all thought that one way or another.[65]

According to Freed's recollection of the interview:

> At the moment he quoted what Vishnu had said, Dr. Oppenheimer reached up and wiped a tear from his eye. And at the same moment, Joe Vadala [the camera operator] had very smoothly zoomed in so that he was on a tight close-up and he held it. That's not something you can plan or direct. It was there and Joe caught it. The perfect moment in a television interview.[66]

Like Friendly, Freed and his camera operator were both conscious of the dramatic intent behind their framing of Oppenheimer's response. While such maneuvers were considered unacceptable within the conventions of breaking news coverage, within the dramatic framework of these documentarists it was considered the epitome of interview technique.[67]

Thus, documentary claims to offer an unprejudiced rendering of objective reality were strained by a number of factors associated with the conventions of narrative, including considerations of plot, character, pursuit of an affective response from audiences, and conscious competition with entertainment programming. However, these were not the only conventions which destabilized the documentarist's claims to objectivity. Editing and camera techniques also suggested the malleable nature of the medium. Indeed, these techniques helped to generate debate over what is commonly referred to in the industry as "actuality." That is, material captured by photographic or audio equipment which "documents" the analysis of the producer.

DOCUMENTARY AND THE CONVENTIONS OF FILMIC REPRESENTATION

The journalistic notion that the photograph provides documentary evidence can be traced back to the introduction of the daguerreotype to the United States during the nineteenth century. Samuel Morse, artist and inventor, said that these images, rendered by nature's own hand, "cannot be called copies of nature, but portions of nature herself."[68] The images were considered to be impervious to human manipulation or cultural prejudice. As described by one Cincinnati newspaper reporter in 1840, the daguerreotype introduced a new mode of communication:

> Its perfection is unapproachable by the human hand, and its truth raises it high above all language, painting, or poetry. It is the first universal language, addressing itself to all who possess vision, and in characters alike understood in the courts of civilization and the hut of the savage. The pictorial language of Mexico, the hieroglyphics of Egypt, are now superseded by reality.[69]

Thus, a photographic rendering of reality had the means to transcend bias and offer a pure means of documentation. The filmic image seemed a certain guarantor of the existence of an objective world which could be explored with modern scientific method and technology. Furthermore, such documentation had the potential to enhance journalistic claims to objectivity. For if seeing was believing, then the association of images with words could only make the words more believable.

Although the integrity of the photographic image became the subject of much debate over the next century, the notion of photographic documentation still maintained tremendous influence within the news industry. Indeed, within the field of television journalism, the image has proven to be a crucial component of the news narrative. As Robert A. Hackett has written, words and images operate together to produce a unified perspective on the chaos and conflict of everyday life. Thus, the spoken words of the reporter seek to explain complex and conflicting meanings within a coherent narrative. Meanwhile, the "visual discourse seeks to convey a sense of immediacy, a sense that 'you-are-there' watching the narrated events unfold before your very eyes. The film stands as the guarantor of the narrative's validity."[70]

However, filmic images do more than simply provide a form of objective corroboration. Photographic images also suggest that, even though the network documentary adopted certain literary conventions, the stories that were being told were realist texts. As Fred Friendly told one interviewer, "We're going to use Thursday night at 10 for realism, for the world about us, for real people, real issues, real controversy."[71] Here Friendly chose not to emphasize the constructed nature of the documentary narrative and in this he had been influenced by his long association with Edward R. Murrow. For Murrow repeatedly characterized programs like *See It Now* as doing nothing more than holding up a mirror to reality.[72] Regarding such pretensions to realism, Fiske and Hartley have noted, "realism's reference is not to bourgeois modes of thought but rather to nature itself... The power of realism, then, resides in the appearance that its ideology *isn't there*, and that its derivation from bourgeois modes of thought is irrelevant since its version of reality is true."[73] Thus, the photographic image is not only an important form of evidence in the documentaries of this period, it is also one of the means by which these programs conceal their constructed nature. These documentaries invite the viewer to enter the world of the narrative without being conscious of the author's efforts to shape that world. Like Hollywood film, documentary sought to stitch together a seamless flow of images which denied their constructed nature. And it is through documentary's adoption of the conventions of Hollywood cinema that it furthered its claim to offer a unified interpretation of social reality.[74]

However, these conventions of realism were not adopted unproblematically. They had to be learned by news workers who in many cases had come from a print or radio background. During the early 1950s, many documentaries were little more than "illustrated radio shows."[75] By mid-decade, the network news organizations were trying to change that. At a workshop for correspondents in 1955, one CBS producer stressed the importance of visual considerations. He encouraged reporters to get interview subjects out from behind their desks and to position the interview in a setting which is "natural" to the story.

> If you had [Prime Minister Pierre] Mendes-France in your [bureau] office, it would be pretty hard to convince the American audience that it was taking place in Paris. This is something extra. If we can prove by the background that it is in California or Kansas City, it helps.

Added Jack Bush, production manager of CBS Newsfilm, "I do not think you have to get too 'circusey' about it, but the thing is, you do create the *illusion* of realism."[76] Furthermore, it was stressed that this illusion should not be disrupted by the viewer's awareness of the technology at work. For example, at the same workshop, there was extended discussion about microphone placement and the ways in which a microphone in the frame detracted from the illusion of realism. Furthermore, lighting and image resolution were discussed in the same context. Said Bush:

> ...if anything, the technical perfection of television news is the thing that will create the illusion of realism. If you have a poor picture or a poor sound track, you disturb that illusion. At lunch, we discussed the kind of drama we would like to put into news. Basically, that is creating the illusion of realism, of taking you to the event, and we must maintain this quality to do that.[77]

But this illusion of realism was not an illusion which was achieved through an appeal to some neutral or natural means of representation. It was an appeal to a set of conventions. Daniel Yellin has argued that because most high-ranking network news executives were from a radio background during the 1950s, they were especially observant of Hollywood's "pretty-picture" approach to realism:

> Accordingly, they were apt to be fastidious about the proprieties of cinematography, timid about experimentation. They were not about to risk being criticized for allowing fuzzy or shaky pictures on the air, for being unprofessional. These men knew what they didn't know and therefore took refuge in the conventional.[78]

The conventions to which Yellin refers are those which David Bordwell, Kristin Thompson, and Janet Staiger have so meticulously detailed as the conventions of Hollywood style.[79] Network news executives circulated memos regarding the basic principles of framing and shooting. As with Hollywood film, the principle of analytical editing was fundamental. Therefore, camera operators were encouraged to gather establishing shots and master shots for each scene along with a series of shots from different angles designed to break down space within the master shot. Similarly, when correspondents conducted interviews, they were staged and edited within the parameters of shot-reverse shot construction. In addition, Hollywood conventions of framing were adopted in order to facilitate eyeline matching. And camera operators were reminded to use a tripod whenever possible.[80]

Other practices were borrowed from the conventions of Hollywood style as well. For example, images were filmed and arranged so as to de-emphasize the manipulation of time and space. Therefore, editing conventions fostered the notion that televised events unfolded in real time, that motion had not been speeded up or slowed down. This convention was invoked so consistently that, as Tuchman has observed, it came to signify impartiality. "By seeming *not* to arrange time and space," wrote Tuchman, "news film claims to present facts, not interpretations. That is, the web of facticity is embedded in a supposedly neutral -- not distorted -- synchronization of film with the rhythm of everyday life."[81] However, I would add that this synchronization was not something which was "natural." Rather it was learned from Hollywood film.

It would be productive to return briefly to *The Battle of Newburgh* in order to observe the Hollywood conventions of spatial and temporal continuity at work. I return to this program not because of its theme or its controversial nature, but because Wasserman and Gitlin, the producer and executive producer, were widely recognized within the field for their masterful editing techniques. If other documentarists did not perform according to the same standards, it was not for lack of aspiration. Furthermore, since we have already detailed the ways in which this particular program was consciously influenced by the conventions of Hollywood narrative I now wish to examine the way in which a single scene was recorded and edited according to related conventions of spatial and temporal continuity.

As mentioned earlier, the program centers on the debate over the merits of the welfare system and the problem of "welfare chiselers." The documentary is structured in such a manner as to introduce the critique of welfare offered by the city manager and then to juxtapose his criticisms against a series of scenes and characters representative of the "real" situation. Thus, when city manager Mitchell charges that adequate welfare payments are a magnet which draws desirable to Newburgh, the documentary turns to portraits of these "undesirables." As part of this segment, the camera takes us to an inner city school where administrators talk of the great strides they have made by committing extensive resources to the education of children who come from poor backgrounds.

As the school principal continues to speak of such progress, the camera cuts away to an establishing shot of the outside of the elementary school and follows with various shots of an integrated group of children at play. Then the camera cuts to an interior shot, a group of adults seated as an audience, and the viewer can detect the sound of children singing off screen. As the principal continues to speak in voice-over, a black child walks into the frame at screen left and proceeds down an aisle between the seated parents. The viewer can, by this time, recognize the chorus singing "Star of Wonder." Then a second black child and a white child follow the first child into the frame; all three of them dressed as "wisemen." The camera pans right to follow the magi walking toward the orchestra pit where the chorus is assembled and the voice-over of the principal finishes. As the music comes up to full volume, the wisemen stop before the orchestra pit, at the foot of the stairs to the auditorium stage, and the camera cuts to a reverse shot of the audience. Then there is a cut to a mid-shot of a white soloist standing in the orchestra pit as the *second* wiseman walks by him and up the stairs leaving the soloist standing alone in the frame. At this point, the camera cuts to the stage where only the most observant viewer would notice the *first* wiseman making an offering to the Christ-child in the manger and thus completing the action initiated by the *second* wiseman in the preceding shot. The next image, a reverse shot of two black parents, is followed by a shot of the soloist completing his performance and taking a seat. Then the camera returns to the stage as the *second* wiseman retires from making his offering at the manger, followed by a reverse shot of the chorus. At this point, the camera pulls back and pans right as the curtain is drawn and the chorus completes the song. The scene concludes with a couple of cuts back and forth between audience applause and performers, finishing with a shot of the chorus director hugging children backstage after the performance.

Several observations can be made about the way in which this scene conforms to Hollywood conventions of spatial and temporal continuity. First of all, the scene lasts one minute fifty-seven seconds and the outer boundaries of the scene are marked by the song "Star of Wonder," which runs *uninterrupted* from beginning to end. I italicize the word uninterrupted because close attention to the spatial relationships within the scene make it apparent that the song must have been edited to conform to the two minutes allotted within the documentary for the school pageant. This is most easily confirmed by the fact that rather than seeing each individual wiseman make his offering at the manger, we see a single representative presentation to the Christ-child. Nevertheless, the impression offered to the viewer is that the song ran in its entirety and the time of the pageant was not condensed by the editing process. Thus, the song is a focal element in fostering the overall notion of continuity within the scene.

As for spatial relationships, the scene is broken down into 16 shots and the illusion of continuity is centered on the progress of the wisemen from the back of the auditorium to the foot of the stage and then to the manger. In order to generate the impression of uninterrupted progress, shots alternate between the audience and the performers allowing elliptical editing of character moment. Thus, the viewer does not follow every moment, but is guided through a series of shots which represent the continuous movement of characters through space.

Indeed, this representation of continuity is privileged over the discrimination of individual character identity within the scene. For, as my italics indicate in the description of the scene detailed above, a close viewing of the wisemen's progress indicates that the first and second characters are used interchangeably in order to represent the following: entry of the wisemen, movement past the soloist, an offering at the manger, and retirement from the scene. That is, the *first* wiseman leads the group, but it is the *second* wiseman who initiates the movement past the soloist and onto the stage. Yet when the camera then cuts away from the soloist to the stage, it is the first wiseman making the offering followed by a reverse shot of the audience and concluding with a return to the stage where the second wiseman retires after making his offering. In short, the rhythm of the music, the tempo of the editing, and the matching of action makes it seem as if we had followed the continuous progress of a single character through space. Because the viewer has no other familiarity with these characters from early parts of the documentary, the editor has taken the opportunity to expand his editing choices and stitch together the illusion of continuous character movement in conjunction with the choral music.

It is not unusual that the editor should put such a high premium on spatial and temporal continuity since many of the producers, editors, and camera operators came to the networks with a background in film rather than news. In fact, the skill which seemed to distinguish top-flight documentary producers was their ability as editors. Friendly, Gitlin, Wasserman, and Burton Benjamin (executive producer of the popular *Twentieth Century* series) were recognized by many of their peers as the best editors in the business.[82] Albert Wasserman, the producer of the Newburgh documentary, started out as an educational film maker who produced a series of films for the United Nations in the late 1940s, among them an Academy Award-winner. It was not until 1953 that Wasserman started working for the networks, and therefore his knowledge of film making preceded his exposure to journalism.[83] Nor was his background unique for a documentary producer at NBC during the early 1960s. "What we've found" said Wasserman at the time, "is that it often works out better for us to take a talented film worker instead of a reporter, because it is frequently easier to train him in television documentary techniques. Of course, you always hope to end up with a man who can both report and make film."[84] Furthermore, it is interesting that both Wasserman and Gitlin left NBC in the mid-1960s in order set up their own film companies and pursue independent feature film projects.[85]

On the other hand, ABC's Nicholas Webster made the reverse transition, moving from feature films to documentary in order to produce several award-winning *Close-Up* programs. Webster, who grew up in Hollywood, began his career in the film lab on the MGM lot.[86] He joined ABC in 1961 in order to begin work on a first-person exploration of racism through the eyes of a young black man. The program, "Walk In My Shoes," an Emmy nominee in 1962, was heavily promoted by ABC and was singled out as one of the best documentaries of this period.[87] In fact, the wide recognition Webster received for his documentary work made it difficult for him to return to feature films, since many perceived him as having an established reputation as a documentarist.[88]

Meanwhile at CBS, the director of operations for the *Reports* series was Palmer Williams who spent the 1940s in Hollywood working on both feature film and government productions. Under the direction of Frank Capra, Williams worked on the production staff of the Academy Award-winning *Why We Fight* film series. In 1951 he joined CBS as the production manager of *See It Now* and thus had a hand in formulating the early film grammar of network documentary.[89]

Also at CBS was David Lowe, producer of the documentary classic, "Harvest of Shame." Lowe's eclectic background included most everything but news. Member of the Army Signal Corps during World War II, Lowe took part in the filming of the Bikini A-Bomb test. Between that time and when he joined *CBS Reports* in 1959, Lowe produced three Broadway plays, managed two theaters, served as an arts critic, and, during the late 1950s was director of the TV game show, "Who Do You Trust?" starring Johnny Carson.[90] Quite clearly Lowe, like many of the top documentary producers, matured outside the confines of the city room.

Given the backgrounds of these producers it is not surprising that Hollywood conventions of narrative and realism should figure so prominently in documentary work from this period. These film makers married the dramatic realism of Hollywood cinema to the journalistic pretensions of objectivity. However, these conventions of newsgathering and representation should direct our attention back again to that which supposedly was being represented, social reality. As noted earlier in this paper, journalistic objectivity as a methodology never succeeded in promoting its perspective as an undisputed rendering of social reality. When challenged, journalists relied on claims of expertise to authenticate their accounts of the objective world. On the other hand, the conventions of Hollywood cinema did not develop in response to concerns about accuracy. Instead, these filmic notions of expertise revolved around considerations of narrative, character, and continuity editing. If these documentaries were going to attract a prime-time audience, they would have to be good television as well as good journalism. As a result, the network documentary incorporated contradictory notions of professionalism. This contradiction left these programs vulnerable to complaints that a good show is not necessarily an accurate show.

CONCLUSION

From the very beginning of television journalism, Edward R. Murrow reportedly expressed concern about the future of a medium so reliant on technicians rather than news professionals.[91] This was not simply a concern about the accuracy of the images captured on film, it was also a matter of how those images were structured in relation to each other. Who was to control the interpretive process? Network journalists working in the tradition of Walter Lippmann believed that they should offer analysis based on their professional reading of objective reality. However, documentary producers demanded that such interpretation be tempered by considerations of character, plot, and setting. These competing perspectives suggest that documentary productions of the early 1960s were complex and often contradictory in their methodologies and in the meanings they produced. Moreover, this complexity was the product of competing notions of professionalism.

This paper has proposed that contrary to the legal argument advanced by Richard Salant at the beginning of this paper, documentary professionalism was not exclusively constituted within the parameters of the Fairness Doctrine, nor was it the product of a stable canon of journalistic practice. Instead, we have seen the ways in which narrative and filmic conventions proved to be as influential as journalistic conventions of objectivity. And it is this contradictory tension which made it difficult for the networks to defend the documentaries which proved to be controversial. This is more than a matter of scholarly interest. For this tension persists today and is the basis for many complaints against interpretive forms of network journalism.

CHAPTER 4 ENDNOTES

References to the following archival collections will appear in abbreviated form: State Historical Society of Wisconsin Manuscript Collection [SHSW] and the Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library [BRTC].

1. Letter to Dr. Julian P. Price, Chairman of the American Medical Association, from Richard S. Salant, President, CBS News February 14, 1961, CBS News Library, "*CBS Reports*: PR and Reviews" file, 1961; also see Salant reiterate this position in 1961 report to shareholders, p. 5, BRTC; a similar point of view is expressed by William McAndrew, vice president for news at NBC, in a memo to "News Personnel," October 23, 1960, Bannister papers, box 10, file 6, SHSW.

2. During the early 1960s, documentarists were given more resources, more staff, and better scheduling for the exhibition of their work. According to Raymond Carroll, in 1959 the three networks broadcast a total of 168 documentary programs. However, by 1962 that figure had more than doubled to 387 documentary programs. Moreover, a Nielsen study showed that by the first half of the 1961-62 season slightly over half of all network documentaries were being shown in prime time, a dramatic turnabout from the Sunday ghettoization of documentary only a couple of years before. While the ratings changed little during this period (averaging 10% of all television homes), the prime-time programs were reaching a much wider audience. According to Nielsen, 90% of all television homes viewed at least one documentary each month. See Raymond L. Carroll, "Economic Influences on Commercial Network Television Documentary Scheduling," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 23:4, Fall 1979, p.415; *Broadcasting*, September 12, 1960, p. 27 and March 5, 1962, pp. 52-3; *Business Week*, June 9, 1962, p. 50; *Printer's Ink*, December 23, 1960, p. 10; *Sponsor*, March 26, 1962, p. 29; Yellin, p. 107.

3. Schudson, p. 60.

4. Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism*, Philadelphia, 1981, p. 82.

5. Schiller, p. 83.

6. Schudson primarily attributes this to the skepticism of late 19th thinkers such as Nietzche, p.120. However, as we shall see, emerging concerns over mass society as expressed by Lippmann also play a role here.

7. Theodore L. Glasser and James S. Ettema, "Investigative Journalism and the Moral Order," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 6:1, March 1989, p. 5.

8. Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*, New York, 1979, pp. 204-5; James Weinstein also points to the valorization of expertise during this era by noting that principles of social engineering and social efficiency during this era grew up alongside notions of industrial engineering and efficiency, *The Corporate Ideal and the Liberal State: 1900-1918*, Boston, 1968, p. xiv.

9. Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*, New York, 1967, pp.57-58 *et. passim*.

10. Gans, p. 205; also see Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, New York, 1978.

11. Schudson, p. 9.

12. Schudson, pp. 5-6.

13. Robert A. Hackett, "Decline of a Paradigm? Bias and Objectivity in News Media Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 1:3, September 1984, p. 234.

14. *New York Herald Tribune*, March 18, 1960, CBS News Library, "CBS Reports PR and Reviews" file, 1960.

15. Yellin, p. 125.

16. Alexander Kendrick, *Prime Time*, p. 318.

17. During much of the 1950s, Wasserman worked on documentaries for CBS. At the end of the decade he moved over to NBC were he became a producer for the *White Paper* series. After a stint working on feature films, Wasserman returned to documentary and is now a producer with CBS *60 Minutes*. The quote is from an interview with Albert Wasserman in Alan Rosenthal, ed., *The Documentary Conscience: A Casebook in Film Making*, Berkeley, 1980, p. 99.

18. In many cases it was assumed that television had the power to refashion public opinion and it was only professional restraint which protected society from such manipulation. In 1957 the CBS Research Department reported, "The objective, democratic type of approach -- presenting arguments pro and con -- will limit the effectiveness of any program designed to sell the audience on an idea of a course of action. In such a situation, a one-sided, propagandistic approach which ignores the opposing viewpoints is generally more effective. Of course, it is *axiomatic* for most programs such an approach is inapplicable." (Italics are mine.) See "What We Have Learned about Documentary and Educational Programs," by the CBS-TV Research Department, Program Analysis Division, September, 1957, Mickelson papers, box 1, file 27, SHSW.

19. See "Plans for Series," marked in pencil "Shown to Nationwide," November 27, 1961, Howard K. Smith papers, box 51, SHSW; Freed makes a similar point in Yellin, pp. 220-1.

20. Lippmann was the most frequent interview guest on *CBS Reports* during the early 1960s and the subject of admiration at other networks as well. Friendly's, book (1967) is a virtual paean to Lippmann; especially see pp. 9 and 95-6. Meanwhile NBC producers reacted to CBS' Lippmann interviews by organizing regular sessions with their own top journalists, "These would be similar to the Lippmann interviews, except with our own Lippmanns," noted Julian Goodman in a memo to William Monroe, August 9, 1962, Robert Asman papers, NBC Collection, box 10, file 1.

21. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, New York, 1922; Ronald Steel, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century*, Boston, 1980.

22. Schudson pp. 40, 151-4; note this is the essence of Tuchman's study, p. 88, "Taken by itself, a fact has no meaning... It is the imposition of a frame of other ordered facts that enables recognition of facticity and attribution of meaning." Also see Tuchman, p. 160.

23. *New York Times*, July 8, 1960, CBS News Library, "CBS Reports PR and Reviews" file, 1960.

24. Schudson, p. 170.

25. Hackett p. 231; Schudson notes the same thing, pp. 167-8.

26. However, despite this concern about news management, as we shall see, news workers did not seriously challenge the assumptions of Cold War policy. Schudson says this did not happen until after the Cuban Missile Crisis, p. 177; Bernard Cohen says foreign correspondents characterized themselves as both observers and participants in the execution of US foreign policy. See *The Press and Foreign Policy*, Princeton, 1963, pp. 19-47.

27. CBS News press release, July 20, 1959, Mickelson papers, box 1, file 10, SHSW.

28. Irving Gitlin addressing CBS foreign correspondents, transcript of *CBS News Clinic*, 1955, Mickelson papers, box 1, file 4, SHSW; Nemec *op. cit.*

29. Yellin, p. 213.

30. *Ft. Lauderdale News*, February 18, 1962, clip from "News and Comment" file, Smith papers box 51, SHSW.

31. *New York Herald Tribune*, October 17, 1960, Gitlin file, BRTC.

32. Kendrick pp. 417-18.

33. John Grierson in Forsyth Hardy, ed., *Grierson on Documentary*, Boston, 1979, pp. 150-1; also see p. 78.

34. *New York Times*, October 1, 1961, CBS News Library, "CBS Reports PR and Reviews" file, 1961.

35. *New York Herald Tribune*, January 8, 1959, CBS News Library, "CBS Reports PR and Reviews" file, 1959.

36. *1964 Annual Report to the Shareholders of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.*; BRTC.

37. *Newsday*, September 11, 1968, Freed file, BRTC.

38. CBS News Clinic, Mickelson papers, box 1, file 4, SHSW, p. 91; Gitlin makes a similar point in an interview in *New York Times*, January 28, 1962, p. 15.

39. *Variety*, March 14, 1962, Wasserman file, BRTC.

40. Yellin, p. 81.

41. It also was noted that audiences preferred fewer and more developed scenes. See report from CBS Research Department, *op. cit.* p. 4.

42. *Variety*, March 14, 1962, Frank file, BRTC; also see, memo from Bob Asman (producer of *This Is NBC News*) to the Correspondents, September 13, 1962, Asman papers, box 10, file 1, NBC collection, SHSW. Furthermore, it should be noted that such notions continue to have influence today. See Bill Carter, "What Ever Happened to Documentaries?" *Washington*

Journalism Review, June 1983, pp. 43-46.

43. In 1963, Secondari received an Emmy award and was named Television Writer of the Year, for producing documentary dramatizations of Columbus' voyage of discovery and the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. See *Variety*, February 12, 1975, Secondari file, BRTC; *Newark Evening News*, May 7, 1961, Secondari file, BRTC; *Current Biography*, April 1967, pp. 35-8.

44. *Variety* May 18, 1960, p. 31; Bob Lang, one of the producers of *The Twentieth Century* noted that a similar formula had made that program a ratings success. Said Lang, "We built this show for 6:30 p.m. on Sundays, when kids control the sets. So we built in 'cops and robbers' (we called them Nazis and Poles and British and Americans) and the ratings were there. Here we have an outstanding example of thoughtful material, but... a review of the subjects treated might suggest certain of the controversial aspects of the subjects remained unexplored." *Sponsor*, March 25, 1963, p. 75.

45. *TV Guide*, February 6, 1960, p. 14.

46. Narrative conventions are valued in longer television news reports as well as documentaries. For example, when consulting with a staff correspondent regarding feature coverage of an upcoming Canadian election, NBC program producer Bill Monroe acknowledged a "vast ignorance and a vast apathy in this country about Canadian politics. So we're anxious to have you rev the story up in any legitimate way open to you in order to get through the so-what feeling. If you can honorably make a political horse opera out of it with the leading contenders bloodying each other up, that might be one ploy." Bill Monroe to Leif Eid, May 31, 1962, Robert Asman papers, box 10, file 1, NBC Collection, SHSW.

47. My italics, *TV Guide*, December 10, 1960, p. 7.

48. CBS News Clinic, 1955, Mickelson Papers, box 1, file 4, SHSW. Freed makes a strikingly similar observation in Yellin, p. 259.

49. Yellin, p. 126; also see Wasserman quoted in Rosenthal, p.92, "I think the early concept, particularly in television, was that the function of the documentary was to present simple information and simple content. My whole approach, however, was that film is essentially an emotional medium, not an informational medium. I know it might sound platitudinous but I thoroughly believed one should not pack films too full of substance, but should try to make films that involved people, and that helped involve the audience in an experience. Then if they came away with one or two ideas, this is as much as can be expected from a film."

50. *New York Herald Tribune*, May 1, 1960, Gitlin file, BRTC.

51. Wasserman in Rosenthal, p. 93.

52. *New York Times*, January 28, 1962, p. 15.

53. *New York Daily News*, May 11, 1962, BRTC.

54. The FCC found against the complaint, see *New York Times*, August 12, 1962, clipping from "Television: Networks" file, BRTC.

55. *New Yorker*, February 17, 1962, p. 42. Also, the burdens generated by the equipment caused complaints from correspondents, see Schoenbrun's comments at CBS News Clinic, 1955, p. 67, Mickelson papers, box 1, file 4, SHSW; and Yellin, p. 163.

56. Friendly's style was criticized by some of his contemporaries as "old-fashioned." Whiteside wrote, "One of Friendly's critics in the business has called his television "big head TV" -- a world bounded, in Friendly's endless closeups of people, by the chin and the eyebrow -- a form of representation in which the camera is accepted as a great, clumsy machine, into whose glassy visual range the subject has to be taken, rather than being made a truly flexible and mobile instrument that can reach out to the subject and readily travel with him." New Yorker, February 17, 1962, p. 69.

57. This was despite the fact that most people watching on the their home set had trouble telling the difference between 16mm and a 35mm film stock.

58. For example, Whiteside notes that *Reports* never produced a documentary about Navajo Indians because CBS crews could not find strong interview subjects, *New Yorker*, February 17, 1962, pp. 47-8.

59. Bluem attributes this to the legacy of radio documentary.

60. *New York Herald Tribune*, July 2, 1961, Friendly file, BRTC.

61. *New Yorker*, February 17, 1962, p. 52; Jack Gould makes a similar point in his review of "Who Speaks for the South?", "As is typical of the Murrow-Friendly team at its best, the fascination of the program lay not only in the sharply conflicting opinions voiced either with moderation or passion but also in the close ups, which reflected the personalities involved." *New York Times*, May 28, 1960. On the other hand, Friendly also was criticized by colleagues and competitors for his cloying and deferential attitude toward certain interview subjects. Harvey Swados captures this criticism when he described Friendly's "'Washington syndrome' -- the seductive talk about the national purpose, the awe of the celebrity and the abject reliance on 'the world's leading authority,' the belief that the *New York Times* is the sole criterion not only for news, but for intellectual significance... Behind all the high-flown talk resides the kind of belligerent low-brow who is fascinated by technique and by the 'wisdom' symbolized by a handful of sages, and who knows nothing of an entire world of art and intellect." *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, April 1967.

62. Richard Dyer, "Stars as Signs," in *Popular Television and Film*, London, 1981, pp. 236-269 and John Fiske, *Television Culture*, New York, 1987, pp. 149-178.

63. It should be pointed out that while the Sunday afternoon interview was shot in "real time," the purpose of Friendly's editing technique was to construct the appearance of a contiguous set of responses from disparate bits of footage culled from hours of exposed film. Thus the notion of temporal continuity within the interview itself is largely a fabrication designed to achieve dramatic effect. Similarly, spatial continuity was often implied even though juxtaposing different points of view often meant cutting back and forth across space.

64. Yellin, p. 164. Also note that Oppenheimer was a favorite interview subject of Murrow and Friendly. See Friendly, pp. 69-75.

65. Yellin, p. 165.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Tuchman argues in her study of news in the 1970s that the close up and the extreme close up are not acceptable for "straight, hard news" coverage because they are associated with moments of drama. She also notes that it is highly unacceptable to shoot reporters at this range since that might imply involvement. Rather they are framed at a more neutral middle shot which is conventional for news readers and official spokespeople, pp. 118-9.

68. Richard Rudisill, *Mirror Image*, Albuquerque, NM, 1971, p.57.

69. Rudisill, p.54.

70. Hackett, p. 251. Although the discourse of filmic "documentation" was quite common, we also have seen in regard to Friendly's shooting techniques that documentarists were well aware that the filmic representation, like narrative, was highly malleable. Although the implication was that film was the guarantor of validity, the fact was that few considered it an unimpeachable source. Thus, I would argue that the narrative had to work just as hard to contextualize and guarantee the validity of the image as the reverse.

71. *New York Herald Tribune*, January 9, 1961; also see Gitlin quoted on same topic in *Variety*, July 27, 1960, Gitlin file, BRTC.

72. CBS News Clinic, p. 64.

73. John Fiske and John Hartley, *Reading Television*, New York, 1978, p. 165; also see Hackett, p. 250.

74. I am not arguing that television documentary adopted all or even most of the conventions of Hollywood style. However the influence of these conventions was strong. My understanding of these conventions derives from the work of David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*, New York, 1985.

75. Yellin, pp. 132 and 233.

76. CBS News Clinic, p. 49; italics are mine.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

78. Yellin, p. 82.

79. Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, *op. cit.*

80. Memo to "The Correspondents" from Bob Asman, September 13, 1962, Robert Asman papers, NBC Collection, box 10, file 1, SHSW.

I do not wish to argue conventions were adopted with the sole purpose of conforming to Hollywood style. It is significant that these conventions of realism were the ones which were adopted, but the reason to adhere to a set of conventions also had to do with the social relations of production. The careful adherence to convention was required by the need to integrate the operations of dispersed groups of news workers. One person might shoot footage on location in Africa, but another would edit in New York. Technical personnel did not always follow their work through to completion. Therefore the social relations of production encouraged an aversion to idiosyncratic styles. Even though the producer worked with a project from beginning to end, this was not necessarily true for the camera operator, the sound recordist, or the editor. Thus convention was a means of extending managerial control over the production of meaning.

As Gaye Tuchman has observed, "Unlike written copy, film and videotape maximize the reporters' and cameraman's intent. One can change the written word, but cannot easily alter the recorded spoken word to insert a new phrase. Nor can one change the distance between camera and speaker, the framing of the picture, short of filming again... Those limits mean that the rules governing the visual language of news film must be more explicit." See p. 107.

It can therefore be argued that conventions make it possible for news workers to operate within a corporate framework. But given the variety of filming situations which documentary workers confronted, the boundaries had to be broad enough to allow a certain amount of discretion. These conventions were not framed in terms of inviable rules which subjected the transgressor to disciplinary action, rather they were framed in terms of professionalism. Those who observed the codes of the profession made it possible for executives like Richard Salant to defend their expertise. And, not coincidentally, they were rewarded with career advancement. They became the senior producers and unit managers. They made it possible to claim any network documentary rendered "close, objective decisions" concerning controversial issues.

81. Tuchman, p. 110.

82. *Variety*, March 14, 1962, Gitlin file, BRTC.

83. Rosenthal, p. 92.

84. *Variety*, March 14, 1962, Gitlin file, BRTC. This held true both for program producers as well. For example, in 1962, Robert Asman was appointed producer of *This Is NBC News* after having served stints as associate producer of *David Brinkley's Journal*, and production manager for *The Twentieth Century*. Asman described his background as "primarily film production." Memo to NBC Correspondents from Bob Asman, August 24, 1962, Asman papers, box 10, file 1.

85. Rosenthal, p. 94; similarly Gitlin left NBC in 1965 for similar reasons *New York Times*, November 17, 1965, Gitlin file, BRTC.

86. *Variety*, September 20, 1961, p. 21; *New York Times*, September 23, 1962, Webster file, BRTC.

87. Bluem, pp. 134-6.

88. *NY World Telegram and Sun* October 2, 1963, Webster file, BRTC. Another documentary producer who worked at both ABC and CBS during this period was Stephen Fleischman who got his start in Hollywood as well, working as a film editor at Columbia Pictures. CBS press release, January 16, 1959, Fleischman file, BRTC.

89. Network report, "CBS News on the CBS TV Network," September 1965, p. 21, CBS News Library.

90. *Newark Evening News*, September 25, 1965, Lowe file, BRTC; Madison, Wisconsin *Capital Times*, August 17, 1989, p. 43.

91. Gary Paul Gates, *Air Time: The Inside Story of CBS News*, New York, 1978, p. 19.

Emerging voices: the multi-leveled process of public opinion in the Montgomery Bus Boycott

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Abstract

"Emerging voices: the multi-leveled process of public opinion in the Montgomery Bus Boycott"

The structure and function of public opinion in the emergence of the civil rights movement is explored through a multi-leveled reconceptualization of Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory. Concepts of legitimacy and hegemony are considered in the dynamic process of public opinion represented in the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955-56. The impact of social policy on individual, minority opinion is postulated in a multi-leveled, historicist causal model of the process of public opinion.

"Emerging voices: the multi-leveled process of public opinion in the Montgomery Bus Boycott"

Perhaps the most important week-and-a-half in the history of American social movements was December 1-9, 1955, the period during which the U.S. civil rights movement was born. The nascent movement's first protest, the Montgomery bus boycott, established that civil rights could be gained through a range of innovative tactics. Subsequently, boycotts, civil disobedience, court suits, and other nonviolent tactics became central to modern American social protests.

Models of social movement organizations focus on the organization and mobilization of social movements (Genevie, 1978; Freeman, 1983; Lang and Lang, 1961). Similarly, traditional perspectives have examined the political origins and organizational structures of emergent social movements, attributing their various successes and failures to functions of the organization, e.g. resource mobilization (Zald, 1988; Ferree and Miller, 1985), and the ability to radicalize tactics and issues (Olien, Tichenor, & Donohue, 1989, p. 151), etc. But mere organization cannot explain how and why the individuals involved knew that their opinions would eventually become legitimate publicly, at least to the degree that they broke the spiral of silence imposed on them by majority opinion. Perhaps a more germane question asks how minority opinion can attain a legitimate status to launch social movements within the existing social, media, and political contexts of society. In other words, where do social movements come from? This paper focuses on the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott to metatheoretically examine the role of public opinion in the answer to that question.

In the 1991 movie about the Montgomery social protest movement, "The Long Walk Home," the protagonist remarks, "Fifty thousand boycotted the buses in Montgomery. I knew one. Her name was Odessa Carter...." That perspective, though poignant in the film, is more than symbolic for mass communications theory, where public opinion theory is bound to various macro-level perspectives in which the focus is on the collective or the mass. In analyzing emergent social movements, the question becomes one of bridging the micro-macro continuum to know how the silent individual becomes an active member of a social movement like the bus boycott. Also, it is necessary to ask how such a social movement's minority agenda can become viable in its struggle toward change. Thus, the goal of this paper is the theoretical analysis of the role of public opinion in the Montgomery bus boycott through the cross-level reconstruction of existing public opinion theory.

Although the case of the Montgomery bus boycott addresses the concept of minority in specific terms, the consideration of the process of emergent public opinion that follows would, at a more abstract level, treat the concept in the sense of its relative proportionality to a majority opinion as defined by immediate circumstances.

After presentation of a reconceptualization of the assumptions of Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory of public opinion, a summary case history of the boycott provides the basis for a multi-level (micro-to-macro) analysis of the process of emergent minority opinion in the Montgomery bus boycott. According to that analysis, the media and government frame the dynamic within which public opinion takes shape in the Montgomery bus boycott. In conclusion, a model of the multi-level process of minority public opinion emergence is developed, based on the revision of Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory.

Public opinion as process

In the Montgomery bus boycott, the protest arose from the need for better representation of African-American citizens within the American system of goverment. As V. O. Keys has noted, "Consideration of the role of public opinion drives the observer to the more fundamental question of how it is that democratic governments manage to function at all" (1961). Definitions of public opinion tend to reflect the majority perspective, for example, "an aggregate of individual views, attitudes, or beliefs shared by a significant portion of the community" (Plano &

Greenberg, 1967, p. 116). James Best formulates two definitions, one for the micro- and one for the macro-level. At the micro-level, public opinion is "the individual expression of beliefs, values, and attitudes about political objects;" at the macro-level, it is "the aggregation and articulation of individual opinions as perceived by political decision makers" (1973, p.3). Such level-specific definitions fail to describe the dynamic process of public opinion by which society talks to itself and interactions across different levels occur. The barrier to such analysis has been described as "the hegemony of sociological dichotomy," as in Tonnies' gemeinschaft-gesellschaft distinction (1940; Lofland, 1988, p. 307). "Perhaps nowhere has this ... proven more pernicious than in the dichotomous separation of the analytic foci into structure and process, and analytic levels into macro and micro" (ibid.)

Based on Tonnies' conception of public opinion as a mechanism for social control, Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory addresses process and structure, albeit from a mass society, or macro-oriented, perspective. In the model, the most important indicators in the information environment come from the media. If individuals perceive that their opinions are out of phase with the mediated environment, they will be unwilling to express their opinions. Her assumption is that journalists influence the news with their own world views, coupled with the dominance of the media in social discourse. Only two minority groups, "avante gardes" and "hardcores" will assert their own opinions. The implication is that dominant opinion will become more so and that policy makers will base their decisions on the opinions that get expressed, rather than those that are withheld (Salmon & Oshagan, 1990, p. 158). Within that framework, Noelle-Neumann defines "public opinion" variously as "the views one can express without isolating oneself" (1973), those ideas one can convey without "fear of sanctions" (1979), and as "a pressure to conform" (1977). The implication of the public's susceptibility to propaganda from the government and through the media indicates that "viewpoints portrayed as being in the minority do not get full hearing" (Glynn & McLeod, 1985, p. 44). Yet, in the Montgomery bus boycott, minority opinion was heard and became policy at the national level via the Supreme Court. The question is: How?

Based on the definition of public opinion by McLeod and Pan (in press), Noelle-Neumann's theory can be reconceptualized to consider the dynamic emergence of public opinion as a multi-leveled interaction with the media and government. According to the authors, its initiation is dependent on "some kind of occurrence -- social change or perception of change, policy implementation, or event, etc. If sufficiently strong, this occurrence will function as stimulus to both individuals and social systems." Media coverage and interpersonal discussion cause individuals to think about and reflect on the event, leading them to form more specific opinions. According .to the process, "social status, group associations, and political orientations function as sources of constraints and influences in that they affect how individuals perceive their own interests, the implications of the changes, expected consequences, and options for actions." From this point, people discuss the changes resulting from the event, expressing their personal opinions. At this stage, micro-level communications activities often become politicized, but McLeod and Pan caution that few such occurrences lead to policy or social changes because many are too weak to begin the process of social movement formation and others "are absorbed or atrophy" along the way (ibid.).

Propositions to reconstruct the spiral of silence

In the historical case at hand, the spiral of silence theory presents a point of departure for addressing unspoken, minority opinion versus active, emergent public opinion. To more fully elaborate a model of emergent public opinion, new assumptions must be proposed:

1) Social movements emerge from the micro-level but depend on macro-level legitimation for viability through

signals of opinion climate change called "opinion markers".

Noelle-Neumann assumes a "quasi-statistical sense of public opinion" as the individual's way of sensing the opinion climate to guard against an innate "fear of isolation." Rather than treating it as a constant, "fear of isolation" should be treated as a measurable variable, where possible. Instead of considering that weak or deteriorating public support for an idea causes its supporters to abandon the effort, Glynn and McLeod suggest "the strength of weak support" as an energizing effect within the minority position based on in-group (micro-level) rewards for being in the minority group position (1985).

In Noelle-Neumann's model, the media are best positioned to reflect which opinions are dominant. This concentration on the media indicates the limitations of Noelle-Neumann's dichotomous focus on the micro- and macro-levels. Public opinion has been conceptualized as communication within a social system that is a "bounded set of interrelationships between units" (McLeod & Blumler, 1987, p. 275). "Communication can be seen as a process necessary for both control and change in any social system. Communication may also be thought of as a social system, as in the term, 'media system'" (ibid.). Within such a multi-level system, McLeod and Pan's (in press) "occurrence" can be conceived of as a more observable "opinion marker" by which individual minority opinion holders might recognize the potential "legitimacy" of their opinions at the macro-level.

Such occurrences take different forms. In spiral of silence terms, demographic data have been used to correlate urban community size to the likelihood of media reportage of opinion-oriented issues and its effect on minority opinion holders' willingness to express their opinions (Tichenor et al., 1980). The macro-level orientation of this research precludes cross-level analysis of how micro-level opinion emerges, but the production of the climate of opinion can be accounted for.

Rather than identifying the theoretical factors leading to the societal opinion shift reflected in the Civil Rights movement, social science has traditionally regarded crises as the significant "occurrences" leading to the emergence of minority opinion into the majority arena (Genevie, 1978; Freeman, 1983). Preconditions for individual action within a changing climate of opinion have more generally been described as being "when the general situation is favorable" (Lang & Lang, 1961, p. 103), and "when the system can tolerate them, when the time is opportune" (Olien, Tichenor, & Donohue, 1989, p.142). Such focus on the social movement organization's structure becomes relevant only when the movement's existence has been legitimated at the individual level. Otherwise, there can be no movement.

2) The dynamic of public opinion is hegemonic as predicated on the social control of "legitimacy."

Rather than Noelle-Neumann's "fear of isolation" assumption about the individual, which seems to offer no possibility for shifts in opinion or for the emergence of minority opinion (Glynn & McLeod, 1985), individual and group holders of minority opinions at any point in the public opinion process might be described as having a "need for legitimacy." The reward for gaining that status is power within the system.

In the case of the bus boycott, the hegemonic control of legitimacy corresponds to the concept of "social control" described by Olien, Tichenor, & Donohue (1989) where "social control is basic to all aspects of collective behavior, ranging from constraints on individual behavior to constraints on established authority. Social conflict invariably centers around questions of social control. Conflicts generally imply questions about (1) the behavior of some individual, group, or agency, (2) the socially-derived rules governing such behavior and (3) the consequences of (1) and (2)" (p. 140).

Legitimacy has also been seen as a part of the structure of social movements without antecedent climate of opinion: "Legitimation for a protest group may stem from its own organized strength" (Olien, Tichenor & Donohue, 1989, p. 150). "Legitimation typically comes from leadership in established organizations" (ibid.). Without legitimation at a macro-to-micro level, individuals will not emerge in response to occurrences, crises, etc. to form social movements. Thus, without legitimation, the spiral of silence continues.

A case history: The Montgomery bus boycott and the formation of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)

In the Montgomery of 1955, public opinion played a central role in the definition of issues, identification of goals, and the ultimate formation of the protest movement. Segregation, the legal expression of white dominance, had long been a harsh reality for the African-American community. Although their own convictions about the tyranny of segregation were firm (King, 1964, p. 6), the abortive early history of anti-Jim Crow activism gave little hope for a successful repeal of the laws: the dominant public opinion was against it. To act on their beliefs, these African-American citizens of the city known as the "Cradle of the Confederacy" needed to have a sense of their effort's public legitimacy. Brown vs. School Board of Topeka was the "occurrence" that provided an "opinion marker" to the African-Americans of Montgomery. The ruling, which explicitly stated that the doctrine of "separate but equal" was unconstitutional, gave them just that signal; from that time, their individual opinions would have a legitimate basis at the most powerful public level -- the U.S. Supreme Court.

The events leading up to the boycott included a series of arrests of local African-American women in bus segregation-related cases, including: Claudette Colvin, a 15-year-old girl arrested on March 2; 18-year-old Louise Smith on October 21; and Rosa McCauley Parks, a seamstress, NAACP-member, and respected community member in her forties, on December 1. Each of the first two arrests and convictions reinforced opinion among the African-American community that the city officials' actions fit into the overall pattern of seating discrimination and that the arrestees had done nothing wrong, bringing public opinion to a head (ibid., pp. 437-438).

At this stage, the aforementioned process of public opinion was advanced. People were talking about change and expressing personal opinions. On the strength of Brown v. School Board, opinion began to go public as political alignments took shape. As early as May 21, 1954, Jo Ann Robinson, a leader of the Womens' Political Council (WPC) and a member of the English faculty at nearby Alabama State University, had acted, writing a letter to the mayor to request negotiations about bus segregation. At the same time, she told him that, "There has been talk of from 25 or more local organizations planning a city-wide boycott of buses" (Garrow, 1986, p. 15).

All that was needed was a catalyzing crisis to spur the movement's organization. On December 1, when Mrs. Rosa Parks was arrested on December 1, 1955, it all seemed to come together. Mrs. Parks was well known and respected in the community; word spread fast. Upon hearing of the arrest, E. D. Nixon, a past president of the city's NAACP chapter and a political leader in the African-American community, phoned white attorney Clifford Durr, one of city's few racial liberals" (Garrow, 1986, p. 13). Durr listened to Mrs. Parks' account of the arrest before summing it up: according Montgomery's bus segregation ordinance, "she could not be convicted for refusing to get up, since no other seat had been available for her to move to, as the law required" (ibid., pp. 13-14). Nixon seized the point immediately, saying, "This is the case. We can boycott the bus lines and at the same time go to the Supreme Court" (ibid., p. 14)

Late the next night, Jo Ann Robinson rallied three accomplices to the mimeograph room at Alabama State University where they ran off and folded 20,000 copies of a flyer announcing the boycott. The flyer read:

> Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown in jail because she refused to get up out of her seat for a white person to sit down. It is the second time since the Claudette Colbert [sic] case that a Negro woman has been arrested for the same thing. This has to be stopped.

> Negroes have rights, too, for if Negroes did not ride buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time, it may be your daughter, or mother. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. This woman's case will come up Monday. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday. You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus. You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off of all buses Monday. (Robinson, 1987, p. 16)

The force of emergent public opinion in this case must be underscored: the leaders of the boycott facilitated the organization of the movement but only when it got to that stage. Even then, when the bus boycott began, its leaders did not expect anything more than a one-day protest; they certainly did not anticipate founding a formal social movement (Garrow, 1986, p. 28). While some of the ministers in the local ministerial council were lukewarm to the action, others opposed more than a token, one-day protest (ibid., p. 23). Above all, they were not certain that the public support was there for a longer effort (emphasis added) and they hoped that it would take no more than a day for the bus company officials and the city administrators to negotiate a settlement (ibid., p. 21).

The central issues of bus segregation in Montgomery

On December 5 at the court house after Mrs. Parks' brief trial, E. D. Nixon, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and Rev. Edgar N. French of the Hilliard Chapel AME Zion Church, outlined the agenda for that afternoon's leadership meeting and that night's mass meeting. Mrs. Parks had been convicted and fined ten dollars; Durr said they would appeal (ibid., pp. 21-22).

They also identified three agenda items as demands to hold out to the bus company, now that they could see that it had the support to continue: 1) Jo Ann Robinson and Mary Fair Burks, also a member of the English department at Alabama State University and a leader of the Womens' Political Council of Montgomery, had long promoted a first-come, first-served ridership plan whereby African-Americans would seat themselves from the back forward and whites should seat themselves from the front backward. No one would surrender a seat to another rider, and no one would ever stand over a vacant seat, as had happened when the bus was strictly segregated; 2) drivers should have to be courteous to all paying riders. Moreover, the company should discipline those drivers who physically or verbally abused a passenger; 3) African-Americans should be able to apply for jobs as bus drivers.

Before parting, the men agreed on the new organization's name, the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). Later that night at the Holt Street Baptist Church, they were assured by the crowd's size--5,000 supporters--that Montgomery's African-American public would support an extended protest (ibid., p. 23). Although Mrs. Parks' case didn't go to the Supreme Court, the formation of the MIA signalled the birth of the social movement organization which eventually reached that court successfully in the name of desegregation. The legal vehicle of the bus boycott's bid to alter social policy was Browder v. Gayle, a suit filed in federal district court against Montgomery's segregationist municipal and transportation codes (Rieff, 1988). The MIA's main strategy involved suing the federal court system for their legitimate rights to ride unsegregated buses. When the federal district court ruled that the Montgomery municipal and transportation codes violated the Fourteenth Amendment, the city appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court, which upheld the lower court's ruling. That victory marked the successful emergence of minority opinion to public opinion to social policy. It is notable that other key Supreme Court decisions served as precedent for this Supreme Court decision: Brown v. School Board, Mayor and Council of Baltimore v. Dawson, and Holmes v. Atlanta (Gilliam, p. 276). Distinctions and relationships between policy and public opinion are discussed below.

The micro-macro continuum of emergent public opinion

Within the dynamic process of public opinion in the Montgomery bus boycott, the roles of media and government overlapped as the Supreme Court performed a social control function by opening the way for the minority anti-segregation opinion. Local authorities made their opposition clear. Local journalists may have sought to help, but the editorial positions of their papers favored impeding the boycott in the long-run. The local television station plainly sought to impede the emergent movement. The joint functions of the law and the media as part of the social system illustrate the need for multi-level analysis of the emergence of public opinion from the obscurity of unspoken minority opinion to the level of social policy.

Taking "(t)he continuum view of levels of analysis allows us to conceptualize the appropriate levels as units of analysis" (Pan & McLeod, in press, p. 4). As outlined below, a "multi-level framework must explicitly convey propositions or assumptions about both production and consumption of media content. Second, all theories of mass communication, regardless of their units of analysis, contain stated or unstated propositions about how both societies and individuals work" (ibid., p. 10). Specifically, a multi-level conceptualization of the channels through which public opinion was mediated will outline both the production points of opinion markers from the top-down (macro-) level and the effects the consumption of those markers at the micro-level (ibid.). In terms of the Montgomery bus boycott, it was this micro-level assimilation of macro-level opinion markers that allowed the social movement to develop.

According to the Pan & McLeod metatheoretical concept of multi-level analysis, four types of relationships can be differentiated: micro to micro, micro to macro, macro to macro, and macro to micro. Within this discussion of the spiral of silence theory, the use of auxiliary theories can become the focal point of inquiry to analyze the various cross- and within-level linkages (ibid.). In the following discussion, the bus boycott will be analyzed within these categories of levels.

Micro-to-micro

The politicization of the emergent public opinion took many forms in the early stages of the boycott. The civic and political organizations in the community, most notably the Womens' Political Council had remained focussed and vigilant on the bus issue for several years prior to the boycott (Millner, p. 450). The churches of the community, especially the Social and Political Action

Committee (SAPAC) of King's Dexter Ave. Baptist Church, served as a key network of surveillance and broadcast about the issue of segregation in the community to the growing, African-American middle-class community based at the Dexter Ave. Baptist Church, where M. L. King, Jr., was the pastor (King, 1964, p. 15). At the beginning of the boycott, the churches were the primary link within the community. In African-American churches throughout Montgomery on Sunday, December 4th, ministers announced the boycott, encouraging their congregations to participate. After December 5th and throughout the boycott, the pulpit was the principal medium for the dissemination of the MIA's tactics and plans. The MIA was an outgrowth of the Baptist Ministerial Alliance.

Groups unallied with the MIA, such as the Baptist Ministers' Alliance, the Citizens' Coordinating Committee, the Alabama Council on Human Relations (ACHR), the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and the Progressive Democrats (headed by E. D. Nixon), among several dozen other African-American civic organizations performed many related organizational functions in the competition to lead the community through this conflict. Because of a difference about protest goals, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) withheld its support. Later when the MIA's goals shifted towards the complete abolition of segregation, the organization had become a threat to the NAACP, and, thus, not a likely partner (Garrow, 1986).

Less formally, the grapevine was a significant element in the development of cohesive opinion among the African-American community. Mrs. Parks' December 5th arrest was known throughout African-American Montgomery within hours.

Micro to macro

The church and civic networks provided a key micro- to macro-linkage. On December 2-3, Jo Ann Robinson produced and distributed the flyer announcing the planned boycott. MIA leader E. D. Nixon leaked a copy to a sympathetic reporter at the Montgomery Advertiser; two newspaper stories subsequently appeared, one in the Alabama Journal on Saturday, December 3, and one in the Advertiser on Sunday, December 4 (Garrow, 1986). The stories were run with the intention of controlling the threatened movement.

The federal court system provided the most significant linkage for micro-level opinion to macro-level policy through the affirmation of the anti-segregation suit and accompanying legal actions filed by the MIA.

Macro to micro

In Montgomery, individual holders of micro-level opinion variously found legitimation and resistance from two principal sources: The print and broadcast media, and the law. A point of great irony, the publication and broadcast of information about the upcoming boycott in the mainstream media served to legitimate the movement within the African-American community, even if the accompanying message was intended as a social control. The Alabama Journal (Saturday, December 3) and the Montgomery Advertiser (Sunday, December 4) stories covering the newly formed MIA's plans to lead a bus boycott. Although intended to dissuade African-Americans from participating, the articles further disseminated the plans.

On Sunday, December 4, City Commissioner of Police Clyde C. Sellers appeared on television in Montgomery with a message designed to intimidate prospective boycotters and portray the boycott as lawless. Instead, this broadcast reached those potential recruits who might have missed the grapevine, the flyer, church announcements, or the newspaper.

Beginning with the arrests, convictions, and fines of Claudette Colvin and Louise Smith and culminating with Mrs. Parks' arrest, the local court system reinforced the dominant, white public opinion that segregation and the abuse that went with it were acceptable. The U. S. Supreme Court provided a significant marker of macro-level public opinion in the Brown v. School Board decision of 1954. Certainly, the high court's upholding Browder v. Gayle proved to be the ultimate macro-to-micro linkage.

Macro-to-macro

Within the macro-level, the print and broadcast media depended on the court and legal systems for laws as codified, yet highly symbolic forms of public opinion. Public opinion and public policy are conceptually distinct: Public opinion may influence the Supreme Court but the Supreme Court generally does not influence public opinion (Marshall, 1988). The Supreme Court's reliance on pre-existing policy to uphold Browder v. Gayle indicates the precedent-based role of opinion once it has become codified as policy. The likelihood that the Supreme Court, as discussed in this case, would have been influenced solely by public opinion, especially a minority opinion, is far less likely than a combination of precedent and public opinion. In this model, public opinion seems to both foreshadow and follow legal precedent at different levels. Perhaps the most significant macro-macro linkage is between points of consonant policy over time.

Conclusion: A bi-directional, multi-level model of the public opinion process

A bi-directional flow (from the micro-to-macro and macro-to micro levels) is represented at the most comprehensive level of the present case by 1) the legitimation of minority opinion into 2) active public opinion via the MIA and 3) then into policy as the Supreme Court upheld Browder v. Gayle against bus segregation in

1956. To project the process as a cycle, consider the 4) potential subsequent impact of that policy on latent individual opinion in the form of a new opinion marker. Figure 1 illustrates the opinion-to-policy process represented by the present model of emergent public opinion.

Within the Mcleod and Pan (in press) metatheoretical levels of analysis, Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory offers a useful approach to this re-analysis of public opinion theory: its "perception-to-expression-to-reinforcement process constitutes a major cross-level mechanism with bi-directional flow causal forces" (p. 15).

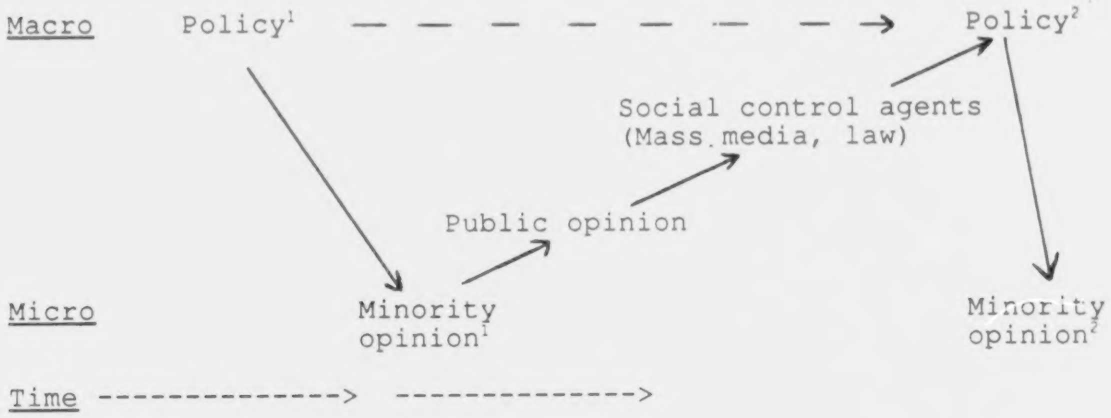
Macro
Policy¹
Policy²
Social control agents
(Mass media, law)
Public opinion
Micro
Minority opinion¹
Minority opinion²
Time --------------> ------------->

Fig. 1 The public opinion-to-policy process.

As represented in Fig. 1 and explicated in terms of this functional analysis of the Montgomery bus boycott, existing policy such as the Supreme Court's ruling on Brown v. School Board of Topeka (Policy^1) legitimates micro-level, minority opinion (Minority opinion^1). Individual perceptions of the new viability of unexpressed opinion lead to the activation of public opinion in the form of social movement activity (Public opinion). To be successful, that activity must receive reinforcement from, or at least not be impeded by the media and the law (social control agents). At the ultimate level of emergence, minority public opinion becomes macro-level public policy (Policy^2). As previously discussed, Policy^1 influences Policy^2, but not majority public opinion (Marshall, 1988). Where Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silnce hinges on the role of the media in the propagation of majority opinion, the historicist causal model in figure 1 focuses on the process that creates the self-regenerating loop, not the original cause.

Topics for further study

Within the context of this case, topics for further study would include the analysis of other historical cases to more fully explore of the levels between micro- and macro-, e.g. the role of the church as a micro-macro linkage within the post-crisis movement organization. The role of the law as compared to the media as a form of social control and the distinction between the Supreme Court's decisions as policy and public opinion should be explored in greater conceptual and operational depth. Also, further study would shed light on the relationship between minority opinion influenced policy and majority opinion, particularly regarding the concept of tolerance in the use of power in the present hegemonic model.

An elaboration of the role of auxiliary theories (McLeod & Pan, in press) would add much to the metatheoretical reconstruction of the spiral of silence as begun here, as well to the methodological development necessary to quantify theoretical linkages between traditional micro- and macro-levels of analysis. Such cross-level theories would offer focal opportunities for methodological development to measure the nature of the public opinion dynamic empirically (Pan & McLeod, in press). From this early point, such measurement would be welcome as the means for better theory building about the process of public opinion.

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The Sta-Shine Case, 1931-1932: A Neglected Chapter in the Evolution of U.S. Broadcast Regulatory Doctrines

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The Sta-Shine Case, 1931-32: A Neglected Chapter in the Evolution of U.S. Broadcast Regulatory Doctrines

On September 19, 1931 the Sta-Shine Products Co., a Brooklyn, N.Y. furniture polish manufacturer, filed a complaint with the Interstate Commerce Commission against the National Broadcasting Company and its affiliate, radio station WGBB of Freeport, Long Island.[1] The dispute arose when Sta-Shine, which had used WGBB for local broadcast advertising, attempted to purchase time on NBC's nationwide "chain" of stations. WGBB, the complaint emphasized, charged $146.48 for 15 minutes of air-time, while the network's fee for equivalent service was $1480.49.[2] Sta-Shine alleged it had been prevented from advertising on NBC's stations because the rates charged for that service were unreasonable and discriminatory, in violation of the Interstate Commerce Act.[3] By seeking ICC adjudication of the dispute, Sta-Shine in effect was asserting that broadcasters were public utility "common carriers" like telegraph and telephone companies. As such, claimed Sta-Shine, not only did both defendants have to accommodate all comers, but were also subject to ICC review and supervision of their rate-setting practices and procedures.[4]

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[1] Note, "In re Complaint of Sta-Shine Products, Inc., I.C. C. Docket No. 24738," Journal of Radio Law II (January 1932): 161.

[2] "Regulatory Right Over Broadcasts To Be Determined," United States Daily, 3 October 1931: 7.

[3] "Report of the Standing Committee on Communications," in Report of the Fifty Fifth Annual Meeting of the AMerican Bar Association, 1932 (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1932): 447-448.

Having never adjudicated a complaint of this nature, the ICC decided that before it could consider the facts of the dispute, it first had to determine if it had jurisdiction in the matter. A hearing on the jurisdictional issue was held on December 14, 1931, whereupon the Commission gave both parties to the dispute 30 days to submit briefs for its consideration. Saddled with a heavy case load, the Commission took ten months to make its decision. Finally, by a 9-2 vote in October 1932, the Commission dismissed Sta-Shine's complaint.[5]

The Sta-Shine case stands as the first and only such complaint adjudicated by the Commission.[6] Nonetheless, the case has vanished from the literature of U.S. broadcast history and telecommunications policy research. A search of the relevant bibliographic materials reveals the case has not been discussed since the 1930s, last having been noted in radio law monographs and legal periodicals.[7] This paper is a preliminary attempt to restore the case to the broadcast history and policy literature.

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[4] "First Radio Case Set for Hearing Before the I.C.C.," United States Daily 21 November 1931: 3.

[5] Sta-Shine Products Co. v. Station WGBB 188 I.C.C. 270 (1932); and "I.C.C. Disclaims Power Over Radio," New York Times, 27 October 1932: 22.

[6] "Calls WGBB Rates Unjust," New York Times, 2 October 1931: 32; and "I.C.C. Asked to Force Cut in Rates Charged for Radio Broadcasting," New York Herald-Tribune, 2 October 1931: 1.

[7] James M. Herring and Gerald C. Gross, Telecommunications: Economics and Regulation (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936): 226-227; and A. Walter Socolow, The Law of Radio Broadcasting, Volume I (New York: Baker, Voorgis & Co., 1939): 235; John A. Porter, "Interstate Commerce Commission--Jurisdiction Over Broadcasting," Air Law Review 4 (July 1933): 304-311; and Philip F. Herrick,

Two principal factors warrant a re-examination of the Sta-Shine case. First, historians and telecommunications policy researchers regard the 1920s and 1930s as the crucial decades in the institutionalization of the privately owned, federally regulated, network-dominated, for-profit, and advertising-supported, "American system" of broadcasting.[8] Second, the interwar years witnessed a vigorous debate over the implications of the structure and control of U.S. broadcasting for a democratic political culture. The domination of the airwaves by an oligopoly of commercial networks, diverse critics contended, had subverted radio's unprecedented potential for public education and enlightenment. This consolidation of private control, they argued, served the rich and powerful. Advertiser-supported, commercial radio networks, bent on maximizing their audiences and profits, the argument went, had been subverted by special interests. Guided less by concerns for serving the public interest, and more by the logic of profit-maximization and the

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"Jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission Over Radio Broadcasting," George Washington Law Review 1 (January 1933): 240-245.

[8] Erik Barnouw, Tube of Plenty, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975): 60; Daniel Czitrom, Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982): 72-78; Philip Rosen, The Modern Stentors: Radio Broadcasters and the Federal Government, 1920-1934 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980); Erwin G. Krasnow and Lawrence D. Longley, The Politics of Broadcast Regulation (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973): 9; and Muriel and Joel Cantor, "United States: A System of Minimal Regulation," in Raymond Kuhn ed., The Politics of Broadcasting (London: Croom Helm, 1985): 166-169.

corollary imperative of delivering the largest possible audience to their advertisers, commercial broadcasters, these critics alleged, avoided controversial programming and cogent analysis of the American political and economic system.[7]

Dissatisfaction with the structure and control of the fledgling broadcast industry elicited diverse proposals to free the airwaves from commercial exploitation. Nationalization of the broadcast industry as in great Britain and other European countries attracted considerable interest. So too, did plans for reserving a portion of the electromagnetic spectrum for non-profit broadcasting.[8] Legislation classifying broadcasters as common carriers within the meaning of the Interstate Commerce Act was also considered.[9]

Legislation deeming broadcasters common carriers, as will be discussed below, was staunchly opposed by the commercial broadcast industry. Ultimately, the Communications Act of 1934, with its express provision declaring that radio broadcasters were not "common carriers,"[10] settled the question. The Sta-Shine case, as this paper attempts to illustrate, helped establish the rationale for this provision.

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[7] Robert W. McChesney, "The Battle for America's Ears and Minds: The Debate Over the Control and Structure of American Broadcasting, 1930-1935." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1989; Rosen, The Modern Stentors: 161-178; Mary S. Mander, "The Public Debate About Broadcasting in the Twenties," Journal of Broadcasting 28 (Spring 1984): 180-183; William Boddy, "The Rhetoric and the Economic Roots of the American Broadcasting Industry," Cinetracts 2 (Spring 1979): 37; and Vincent Mosco, Broadcasting in the United States: Innovative Challenge and Organizational Control (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979): 10-11.

[8] Rosen, The Modern Stentors, pp. 170-171.

[9] L. Dickson Fricks Jr., "Radio Broadcasting as a Common Carrier," Virginia Law Review 19 (December 1932):174.

Here the Sta-Shine case is examined on two levels. First, following the protocol of traditional legal research,[11] it considers the facts, precedents, and logic which informed the Commission's ruling in the case. Second, taking its cue from critical communications policy research,[12] the analysis here interrogates the Commission's decision in terms of the broader political and economic context which may have shaped its outcome.

To appreciate the significance of the Sta-Shine case, a brief recapitulation of developments in American broadcasting between 1927 and 1930 is in order. Congress passed the Federal Radio Act of 1927 and established the Federal Radio Commission to bring order into the chaos that reigned over the airwaves in the wake of a U.S. District Court's ruling in the celebrated Zenith case.[13] That decision in 1926 stripped the Department of Commerce of its powers to assign or control the frequency, power, and operating hours of a radio station.[14] Between July, 1926, and February, 1927, roughly 200 new broadcasting stations were established. These new stations chose whatever frequencies, hours of operation, and power they wished with scant regard for those of existing stations. Complaints of interference proliferated and prompted Congress to quickly act to alleviate the situation.[15]

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[10] 48 Stat. 1064 (1934). Section 3 of the Act, Part (h) reads as follows: "...a person engaged in radio broadcasting shall not, insofar as such person is so engaged, be deemed a common carrier."

[11] On the utility and shortcomings of this approach see Donald M. Gillmor and Everette E. Dennis, "Legal Research and Judicial Communication," in Steven H. Chaffee, ed., Political Communication: Issues and Strategies for Research (Beverly Hills, Calif." Sage Publications, 1975): 293-297.

[12] For an overview of this branch of communication policy studies, see Willard D. Rowland, "American Telecommunications Policy Research: Its Contradictory Origins and Influences," Media, Culture and Society 8 (April 1986): 159-182. See also Eileen R. Meehan, "Critical Theorizing on Broadcast History," Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media 30 (Fall 1986): 393-411.

The Radio Act of 1927, established a short-term, interim commission to allocate broadcast licenses, assign frequency bands and wavelengths, and set each licensee's operating hours and power levels.[16] Congress, to restore order to the airwaves, deemed the electromagnetic spectrum a scarce and valuable natural resource held in common like water power and forest preserves. Because spectrum scarcity precluded all who wanted to broadcast from doing so, Congress mandated that licensees had to operate as public trustees in accord with the Act's broad and vague "public interest, convenience and necessity" standard.[17]

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[13] United States v. Zenith Radio Corporation, 12 Fed. (2d) 616, 617 (1926).

[14] Marvin R. Bensman, "The Zenith-WJAZ case and the Chaos of 1926-27," Journal of Broadcasting 14 (Fall 1970): 423-440.

[15] Rosen, The Modern Stentors: 95-106; Daniel Garvey, "President Hoover and the Quest for Broadcast Regulation," Journalism History 3 (Autumn 1976): 66-70.

[16] Radio Act of 1927, Public Law 632, 69th Congress, February 23, 1927; reprinted, Documents of American Broadcasting, Frank J. Kahn, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984): 40-56.

[17] Rosen, The Modern Stentors, p. 105.

There was a general understanding that in order for the FRC to stabilize the use of the airwaves it would have to decrease the total number of stations.[18] The FRC's first year resulted in little progress toward that goal. The Senate rejected two prospective appointees and Congress never approved the FRC's budget.[19]

Thus instead of attempting to reduce the total number of stations, the FRC tried to oblige all 733 stations. Furthermore, the Commission set aside some "clear channels" for high power stations to broadcast nationwide. By January and February 1928 when Congress considered whether to extend the FRC for another year, 23 of the first 25 stations awarded clear channels by the Commission were affiliated with NBC. Concerns about network dominance of the clear channels resulted in the Davis Amendment to the Radio Act of 1927[20] which directed the FRC to implement a comprehensive reallocation of broadcast frequencies. To reduce the total number of stations, the FRC initiated procedures that permitted any applicant to challenge the frequency assignment of existing licensees. Ultimately, ninety-four percent of the stations in operation found their frequency assignments modified by the plan. The six percent whose assignments remained unchanged were network affiliates on clear channels.[21]

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[18] James M. Herring,"Equalization of Broadcasting Facilities Within the United States," Harvard Business Review 9 (July 1931): 418-419.

[19] Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, The Federal Radio Commission (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1932): 22.

[20] Public Law No. 195, 70th Cong., March 28, 1928.

As a result of the FRC's reallocation plan, educational broadcasters increasingly found themselves having to share their time and wavelengths with commercial operators. In addition, the costly equipment needed to meet the FRC's increasingly stringent standards for broadcast apparatus strained the budgets of educational stations. Further, frequent hearings before the FRC in Washington over contested frequencies and operating hours burdened the non-commercial broadcasters with travel expenses and legal fees that diverted resources from the development of personnel and programs. In the view of opponents of commercial broadcasting, the FRC's reallocation plan had undermined the non-commercial, educational broadcasters by assigning them undesirable frequencies and operating hours. The major networks such as NBC and CBS and their affiliates, on the other hand, critics claimed, had used their economic and political clout to achieve their domination of the clear channels.[22]

Non-profit, educational programming had figured prominently in the radio boom in the early 1920s before the rapid ascendancy later in the decade of advertiser-supported, commercial network fare. Colleges, religious organizations, public agencies, and labor groups offered an alternative vision of radio's future. Among those groups broadcasting was seen as a marvelous new medium for the diffusion of information, not entertainment.[23] By May 1927, when the Radio act went into effect, 94 educational institutions were licensed to broadcast. By March 1931, however, the number had dwindled to 49.[24]

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[21] McChesney, "The Battle for America's Ears and Minds," pp. 31-43.

[22] Werner J. Severin, "Commercial vs. Non-commercial Radio," Journal of Broadcasting 22 (Fall 1978): 496-503.

Advocacy of a common carrier model of broadcast regulation emerged in the wake of the Federal Radio Commission's controversial re-allocation plan. The common-carrier model rested on two principal assumptions. First, its proponents asserted that the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" standard for license renewal used in the Radio Act of 1927 was borrowed from public utility law, and as such, indicated Congress' intent to place the same kind of common-carrier obligations on broadcasting companies such as those imposed on telegraph, telephone, and cable companies. Second, proponents of a common carrier model of broadcast regulation argued that broadcasters' public service responsibilities obliged them to serve equally well those that wanted to listen to programs and those that wanted to send them.[25]

Hearings before the Senate Interstate Commerce Commission during 1929 and 1930 on the so-called Couzens Bill[26] provided commercial broadcast industry officials and legal representatives an opportunity to assail that position on several grounds. Introduced into the Senate on April 18, 1929, the legislation proposed to divest the Interstate Commerce Commission of its jurisdiction over communication common carriers, appropriate all the powers of the Federal Radio Commission and the Department of Commerce applicable to radio, and combine them in a new five-member "Commission on Communications."[27] The legislation as originally submitted intended to define broadcasters as common carriers and place them under the proposed Commission's jurisdiction.[28] Under that plan broadcasters would have been subjected to a wide range of common carrier obligations. These included providing adequate facilities to all comers, charging them reasonable and non-discriminatory rates, and filing such rate schedules with the Commission.[29]

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[23] George H. Gibson, Public Broadcasting: The Role of the Federal Government, 1912-76 (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977): 3.

[24] Severin, "Commercial vs. Non-Commercial Radio," pp. 495-96.

[25] Shelden D. Elliot, "Radio and Rate Regulation," Journal of Radio Law 2 (April 1932): 282-283. See also Robert D. Heinl, "Is a Broadcasting Station a Public Utility?" Public Utilities Fortnightly 6 (18 September 1930): 344-349.

To evaluate the problems posed by the Couzens Bill and several other reform measures introduced in prior sessions, the

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[26] S. 6. 71st Cong., 1st Sess., (1929).

[27] Herring and Gross, Telecommunications: Economics and Regulation: 412-413.

[28] Hearings before the Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 6, A Bill to Provide For the Regulation of the Transmission of Intelligence By Wire or Wireless Part 1, May 8, 1929: 1-2. {HEREAFTER Hearings on S. 6.}

[29] For a summary of the bill's provisions, see "Report of the Standing Committee on Radio Law," in Report of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association 1929 (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1929): 404, 484.

Senate adopted a resolution on May 29, 1929, authorizing the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce to conduct a thorough investigation.[30] Hearings on the Couzens Bill continued well into 1930, yielding a voluminous record of documentary evidence and testimony from 55 witnesses.

The Senate hearings on the Couzens Bill anticipated the arguments for and against a common carrier model of broadcast regulation that were marshalled by the parties in the Sta-Shine case. Testifying in support of the public-utility model was FRC Chairman Ira E. Robinson, the only member of the agency who expressed reservations about the re-allocation plan's entrenchment of network domination of the airwaves.[31] "Every broadcasting station in this country to-day is a public utility, a common carrier," declared Robinson, "and they must let me, for instance, advertise if they advertise for themselves or others. One committee member suggested that it was unfair to designate broadcasters common carriers because such a classification would deprive them of the power which newspapers held to screen potential advertisers. Robinson asserted such a comparison was invalid. "The newspaper," he emphasized, is a purely private enterprise." Broadcasters, on the other hand, were utilities "licensed by the sovereignty; a public medium."[32]

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[30] S. Res. 80, 71st Cong., 1st Sess. (1929).

[31] See McChesney, "The Battle For America's Ears and Minds," pp. 52-54.

[32] Statement of Ira E. Robinson, Hearings on S. 6, 71st Cong., 1st sess., Part 12, pp. 1614-1615.

In testimony before the Committee, industry officials and legal counsel attacked Robinson's position on several counts. NBC president Merlin H. Aylesworth told the Committee that he regarded radio broadcasting as a public service, not a public utility, and as such open to some regulation. Broadcasting, he added, was not "a primary necessity," nor was it directly subsidized by the public. "The latter fact," he asserted, "especially distinguishes it from point-to-point communication by radio for toll, which beyond doubt is a public utility.[33] Henry A. Bellows, president of Northwest Broadcasting Co., and a former FRC commissioner, declared it impossible for broadcasters to provide sufficient time to permit everyone to use their facilities. Thus, asserted Bellows, broadcasters could not be expected to equally serve all comers.[34] Louis G. Caldwell, former FRC General Counsel and a legal advisor for the NAB and NBC,[35] expanded on Bellow's remarks. "If the broadcasting station which ordinarily has to rely on advertisers for its income has to receive every advertiser on an equal basis," Caldwell emphasized, "it, and its listening public may be the prey to all sorts of quack advertising, and it is felt that it is safer to allow the station owner the same discretion which a newspaper or magazine has--that of rejecting or accepting advertising, and relying on his self-interest to see to it that no unfairness is done."[36]

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[33] Statement of M.H. Aylesworth, Hearings on S. 6, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., Part 13, p. 1701.

[34] From testimony on S. 6 reported in United States Daily 17 January 1930: 5.

[35] For an insightful analysis of Caldwell's service in behalf of commercial broadcasters, see Robert W. McChesney, "Strange Days Indeed! Louis G. Caldwell, THe American Bar Association, The American Legal Community and the Changing Attitude Toward Federal Regulation of Broadcasting, 1928-1938," Paper presented to Law Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1990 AEJMC Convention, Minneapolis, MN, August 1990.

Caldwell, FRC General Counsel and chief architect of its reallocation plan, was the principal force behind the establishment of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Radio Law in 1929, a committee set up to review and make recommendations about proposed radio legislation. Caldwell's analyses, as McChesney has shown, reflected his unbridled enthusiasm for commercial broadcasting.

Interestingly, the industry's assault on the common carrier provision of the Couzens Bill received assistance from a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission who was among the majority of commissioners who would later support the decision to dismiss Sta-Shine's complaint. ICC Commissioner Joseph B. Eastman appeared before the Committee to respond to a list of 23 questions concerning the Couzens Bill it had submitted for the Commission's review and comment.[37] Two of these addressed the jurisdiction of the Commission over the rates and practices of radio broadcasting companies. Eastman began by telling the Committee he understood broadcasting referred to radio stations "which transmit spoken words or music by wireless electric impulses to all within effective range of those impulses who possess and use suitable receiving apparatus, and which do not transmit messages from a definite sender to a definite receiver."[38] For those reasons, said Eastman, emphasizing that that those questions had never been formally determined by the Commission,

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[36] Statement of Louis G. Caldwell, Hearings on S. 6, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., Part 1, p. 88.

[37] Statement of Joseph B. Eastman, Hearings on S. 6, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., Part 12, p. 1565.

> "....I am of the opinion that there is now no power in the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate rates of broadcasting stations or the so-called chains....such stations are not engaged in the transmission of intelligence by wire or wireless as common carriers for hire."[39]

Upon the conclusion of the hearings, a re-draft of the Couzens Bill was submitted to the Interstate Commerce Committee. The revised legislation contained an express provision declaring broadcasters were not common carriers. Based on that provision and other changes, the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Communications, which had opposed the original legislation, withdrew its opposition.[40] Though the revised legislation was reintroduced, it languished in committee.[41]

Thus when Sta-Shine filed its complaint in September 1931, the question of broadcasters's common-carrier status remained unresolved. Nonetheless, the arguments advanced against a common carrier classification for broadcasters during the hearings on the Couzens Bill did not bode well for Sta-Shine's position on the issue.

In contending that the ICC had jurisdiction in its dispute with WGBB and NBC, Sta-Shine cited section 14 of the Radio Act of

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Op. Cit., p. 1566.

[40] Elliot, "Radio and Rate Regulation," p. 287, n. 62.

[41] Herring and Gross, p. 413.

1927, and section 1 of the Commerce Act, as amended by the Transportation Act of 1920.[42] The relevant section of the Radio Act of 1927[43] provided as follows:

> Any station license shall be revocable by the commission--whenever the Interstate Commerce Commission, or any other Federal body in the exercise of authority conferred upon it by law, shall find and shall certify to the commission that any licensee bound so to do, has failed to provide reasonable facilities for the transmission of radio communication, or that any licensee has made any unjust and unreasonable charge...."

That stipulation, claimed Sta-Shine, along with the common carrier provisions of the 1920 Transportation Act, clearly gave the ICC regulatory powers over broadcasting.[44] The Transportation Act granted the ICC regulatory powers over "common carriers engaged in...the transmission of intelligence by wire or wireless..." It defined the term "common carrier" to include:

> all pipe-line companies; telegraph, telephone, and cable companies operating by wire or wireless..." The Act defined the term "transmission" to "include the transmission of intelligence through the application of electrical energy or other use of electricity, whether by means of wire, cable, radio apparatus, or other wire or wireless conductors or appliances, and all instrumentalities and facilities for and services in connection with the receipt, forwarding and delivery of messages, communications or other intelligence so transmitted, hereinafter also collectively called messages."

Sta-Shine's strategy of marshalling a common carrier argument based on the provisions of the Transportation Act owed an obvious debt to legal scholar Stephen Davis, whose 1927 treatise on radio law was cited in the brief Sta-Shine's attorney Ernie Adamson prepared for the case.[45] Davis,[46] commenting on the Transportation Act's applicability to broadcast regulation suggested:

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[42] "Before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Docket No. 24738, Sta-Shine Products Company Inc. v. National Broadcasting Company Inc., et al., Brief for Complainant filed by Ernie Adamson, January 14, 1932," p. 4, National Broadcasting Company Manuscripts, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin, Box 14, Folder 23, Sta-Shine Products Company, 1932. {HEREAFTER NBC Mss}.

[43] 44 Stat. 1162 (1927).

[44] 36 Stat. 544 (1910) as amended by the Transportation Act, 41 Stat. 451, 474 (1920).

> The general effect of this act is to subject companies engaged in radio communication to the same rules and regulations as are wire telegraph and telephone companies....Rates and charges must be just, reasonable, and non-discriminatory, and the Commission is given the power of determination as to whether a given tariff or practice meets these tests....The language of the act...taken at its face value, seems broad enough to embrace all stations engaged in the transmission of intelligence by radio, including broadcasting stations which are furnishing service for hire, even though they do not hold themselves out as willing to serve the public generally and so are not strictly 'common carriers.'

Taking its cue from Davis, the basis of Sta-Shine's complaint was that broadcasters were public utility common carriers. That meant an obligation to accommodate all comers willing to purchase air-time. Moreover, in the absence of FRC jurisdiction to review and order revisions in broadcasters rate-setting procedures,[47] reasoned Sta-Shine, it followed that the ICC held that power.[48]

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[45] Sta-Shine, "Brief for the Complainant," p. 2.

[46] Stephen Davis, The Law of Radio Communication (new York: McGraw-Hill, 1927): 52.

[47] Davis, The Law of Radio Communication, p. 80.

[48] The only official, but non-binding recommendation against a common carrier classification for broadcasters prior to Sta-Shine was offered by the Federal Radio Commission in a statement filed with the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in Great Lakes Broadcasting Co. v. Federal Radio Commission, 59 App. D.C. 333, 41 F. (2d) 442 (1930). The FRC's statement, reprinted

Given the novelty of the case, the progress of Sta-Shine's complaint was closely monitored by the commercial broadcast industry. "The case is considered of vast potential importance," observed Broadcasting, the leading radio trade journal, because "it proposes to go into the rate structure of the industry in the same manner that railroads and other common carriers are regulated as to rates and evaluation."[49] The New York Times concurred with that assessment, adding that "broadcasters will insist that their industry is not comparable to other industries, since it is not subject to expansion of facilities and is restricted to a limited time."[50]

That observation was indeed on target. NBC's response to Sta-Shine's complaint, filed in late November 1931, categorically denied that it or WGBB were common carriers "engaged in the transmission of intelligence by wire or wireless, or in any other business subject to the Interstate Commerce Act."[51] Cognizant of Eastman's position on the common-carrier question, NBC vice-president and general attorney A.L. Ashby, along with NBC counsel Frederick W. Wood, pressed the Commission to restrict the

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in Third Annual Report of the Federal Radio Commission (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1929): 32-33, suggested that a common carrier classification for broadcasters would prevent them from fulfilling their public service obligations.

[49] "Power of I.C.C. to Rule on Rates For Broadcasting to be Tested," Broadcasting, October 15, 1931): 12.

[50] "Can Uncle Sam Control Rates Charged for Time on the Air?" New York Times, 13 December 1931: 14.

[51] "Broadcast Company Replies in Rate Case," United States Daily 1 December 1931: 3.

December 14, 1931 hearing to the jurisdictional issue. ICC chief examiner Ulysses Butler approved the request in a November 28, 1931 letter to both parties. "In the circumstances," wrote Butler, "the evidence at the hearing...will be limited to facts bearing upon the jurisdictional question, leaving the question of reasonableness, and otherwise lawfulness of the rates, charges, rules and regulations and practices, for further hearing after the determination of the jurisdictional question."[52]

Sta-Shine's attorney Ernie Adamson responded to that move with an amended complaint filed on December 5 1931. It alleged NBC was not only engaged in the interstate transmission of intelligence by wireless, but also by wire. The basis of this contention was the fact that NBC leased the lines of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company to supply its affiliates with programming.[53]

The hearing on the jurisdictional issue was held before ICC Examiner M.W. Cheseldine, on December 14, 1931. NBC president M.H. Aylesworth contended in his testimony that NBC was not a common carrier because it reserved the right to accept or reject any program and "to broadcast only for those we choose to serve." Aylesworth compared that policy with a publication's right to accept or reject advertising.[54] When Sta-Shine's attorney Ernie

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[52] "Jurisdiction Issue of I.C.C. Rate Case," Broadcasting, December 15, 1931: 27.

[53] Ibid.

[54] "Radio Control Fought at Hearing," New York Times 15 December 1931: 34.

Adamson raised the issue of NBC's leasing of AT&T's telephone lines, NBC's special counsel, Frederick H. Wood, claimed that arrangement was irrelevant to the question at hand. Wood argued that because broadcasting was unknown at the time of the Transportation's Act passage, Congress did not intend the legislation to apply to broadcasting.[55]

Upon conclusion of the hearings, both parties were given 30 days to file briefs for Examiner Cheseldine's consideration. Sta-Shine's brief recapitulated the arguments made in both its original and amended complaints. Prepared by Ernie Adamson, the brief reminded the Commission that in the event of a dismissal, "this complainant is not able to prosecute an expensive appeal to the Supreme Court, while the defendants on the other hand are well supplied with good lawyers and plenty of money."[56]

The NBC-WGBB brief contended that Section 18 of the Radio Act of 1927, the equal-time provision for political candidates, recognized the "right of the broadcaster to select those who may use its facilities and to censor the material (except in the particular cases covered by this section), rights entirely inconsistent with a common carrier status."[57] Countering Sta-

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[55] "Radio Advertising Is Compared to Press Display Before I.C.C.," Broadcasting, January 1, 1932: 18.

[56] "Brief for the Complainant," p. 7.

[57] "Interstate Commerce Commission, Docket No. 24738, Sta-Shine Products Co. Inc., Complainant v. Station WGBB of Freeport, New York, H.H. Carman, Proprietor, and National Broadcasting Company, Inc., Defendants, Brief for Defendants On Motion to Dismiss," p. 19, NBC Mss, Box 14, Folder 23, Sta-Shine Products Co. 1932.

Shine's contention that the Transportation Act was applicable to broadcasting, the brief stated broadcasting "was unknown at the time of the passage of the Transportation Act (February 28, 1920), which contains the existing provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act dealing with transmission by wire or wireless."[58]

Neither NBC or WGBB, the brief stated, had ever undertaken point-to-point communication, understood as sending "a definite message from a definite sender to a definite receiver."[59] Under the Radio Act of 1927, the brief noted, "no wireless station of any description may be operated except under license granted by the Federal Radio Commission." In the administration of the Act, the brief noted, the Federal Radio Commission issued three mutually exclusive types of licenses. These included licenses for point-to-point communication, broadcasting and for experimental work. Given the specificity of the FRC's licensing requirements, the brief argued, along with the fact that neither NBC or WGBB had ever received a license for point-to-point communication, "neither of the defendants therefore could lawfully engage in point-to-point communication even if it desired to."[60]

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[58] "Brief for the Defendants," p. 2. The Westinghouse Corporation built the first station, KDKA, in Pittsburgh in the autumn of 1920.

[59] "Brief for the Defendants," p. 2. ICC Commissioner Eastman's ex parte opinion on the common carrier provisions of the original draft of the Couzens Bill, was cited in NBC's brief (p. 3) to support this contention.

[60] "Brief for the Defendants," p. 2, citing Third Annual Report of the Federal Radio Commission (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1929): 2.

Upon review of the briefs filed by both parties, Cheseldine submitted a report to the Commission in April 1932 recommending dismissal of Sta-Shine's complaint. Cheseldine found that "Broadcasting rates, charges, rules, regulations, and practices of the National Broadcasting Company, Inc. and Station WGBB...found not within the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission Act, and therefore not subject to the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission."[61]

Following the release of the examiner's report, oral arguments before the entire Commission were heard on June 17, 1932. In a memo to M.H. Aylesworth on those proceedings,[62] NBC attorney A.L. Ashby dismissed Adamson's arguments as "largely historical" and "unconvincing." According to Ashby, most of the members of the Commission appeared to have accepted NBC's argument that Congress did not intend the Transportation Act to apply to broadcasters. After the hearing, Ashby, in an attempt to sway the minority on this point, met informally with members of the Federal Radio Commission. They assured him that they would press that point to their counterparts at the ICC.

At first, Ashby's behind-the-scene efforts appeared fruitless. Sta-Shine's attorney Ernie Adamson contacted him in September to report "the ICC was having quite a dispute as to the

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[61] A.L. Ashby to M.H. Aylesworth, NBC Interdepartment Correspondence, April 6, 1932, NBC Mss, Box 14, Folder 23, Sta-Shine Products Co., 1932.

[62] A.L. Ashby to M.H. Aylesworth, June 17, 1932, NBC Mss, Box 14, Folder 23, Sta-SHine Products Co., 1932.

Sta-Shine case and endeavoring to make up their minds as to what they should decide."[63] Adamson's reading of the situation proved groundless. Much to Broadcasting's delight, the Commission's October 1932 decision to dismiss the complaint sustained NBC's contentions "in almost every instance."[64] NBC officials likewise welcomed the Commission's holding in their favor.[65]

The majority opinion, written by Commissioner Tate,[66] acknowledged that radio broadcasting was subject to the regulatory control of Congress. But it emphasized that just because a service is within the commerce clause of the Constitution,[67] does not subject it to the jurisdiction of the ICC. The test of ICC jurisdiction, the majority asserted, was that the provider of a service be a "common carrier." They stated the provisions of the Transportation Act of 1920 applied only to individuals and organizations involved in the transmission of messages from a definite sender to a definite receiver--point-to-point communication. Like NBC's attorneys, the majority declared that even though the Transportation Act did not expressly state it applied only to point-to-point communication, such a definition nonetheless was implied because broadcasting was unknown when the Act was passed. "We do not now believe this new art and practice.....of simply putting on the air instruction, entertainment or advertisement to that part of the public who may choose to listen to it," the majority asserted, "was ever intended by Congress to be included in the Transportation Act.[68]

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[63] A.L. Ashby, Personal Memo, September 28, 1932, NBC Mss, Box 14, Folder 23, Sta-Shine Products Co., 1932.

[64] "I.C.C. Holds It Lacks Power to Regulate Broadcast Rates," Broadcasting, November 1, 1932: 16.

[65] A.L. Ashby to M.H. Aylesworth, NBC Interdepartment Correspondence, October 26, 1932; A.L Ashby to R.C. Patterson Jr., NBC Interdepartment Correspondence, October 28, 1932, NBC Mss, Box 14, Folder 23, Sta-Shine Products Co., 1932.

[66] The ruling of the Commission is reported in 188 I.C.C. 271 (1932).

[67] The "commerce clause" of the Constitution, Article 1, Sec. 8, is the basic rationale for federal regulation of broadcasting. See Walter B. Kennedy, "Radio and the Commerce Clause," Air Law Review 3 (January 1932): 16-26; and Frank Kahn, "Economic Regulation of Broadcasting as a Utility," Journal of Broadcasting 7 (Spring 1963): 97-98.

Broadcast advertising, the majority argued, like newspaper advertising, was done under private contract, and only with clients that the broadcaster wanted to serve. The majority emphasized that the radio act of 1927 required all broadcasters to obtain a license. That privilege obliged broadcasters to maintain required standards of programming in the public interest. The radio act gave the Radio Commission the power to revoke licenses if their holders failed to meet those requirements. Moreover, that power had been sustained by the courts.[69] If stations had to accommodate all comers, the majority said, their ability to select programming in the public interest would be impaired, and their licenses to do business would be jeopardized.[70]

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[68] Sta-Shine Case, p. 278.

[69] Between 1927 and 1934, 41 cases contesting the FRC's regulatory powers over broadcasting were heard by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, the forum designated by the Radio Act of 1927 for the adjudication of such disputes. For discussion of these cases see Don R. Le Duc and Thomas A. McCain, "The Federal Radio Commission in Federal Court: Origins of Broadcast Regulatory Doctrines," Journal of Broadcasting 9 (Fall 1970): 393-410.

The minority opinion, written by ICC chairman Porter,[71] though in accord with the majority's opinion that the Commission lacked jurisdiction in the case, offered a more precise principle for finding that broadcasters were not common carriers. Porter quoted Terminal Taxi-Cab Co. v. District of Columbia,[72] a case in which the Supreme Court recognized that part of the same business could be a common carrier while another part of the same enterprise functioned as a private carrier. Terminal was mainly a taxi company, but also rented vehicles. As a licensed cab company, it had to provide service to all comers. But in renting cars, it reserved the right to refuse the service to anyone it wished.[73]

Porter applied that logic to Sta-Shine's complaint. "Here...as in the Terminal Taxi case," he suggested, "there is no contract or understanding whereby the respondent agrees to accept advertising generally." He emphasized that concerns become common carriers only when they set out to provide services to all comers. Porter said because NBC never presented itself as willing to accept all advertisers, it could not be considered a common carrier.[74]

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[70] Sta-Shine Case, pp. 274-275.

[71] Sta-Shine Case, pp. 279-284.

[72] 41 U.S. 252 (1916).

[73] NBC's attorneys also cited the Terminal Taxi case to undermine Sta-Shine's contention that the network's agreements with AT&T for sending its programs to affiliates made it a common carrier. See "Brief for the Defendants," p. 14, 21.

While agreeing with the majority that broadcasters were not common carriers, Porter nonetheless took exception to their contention of the inapplicability of the Transportation Act to broadcasting.[75] Porter, citing the relevant sections of the Transportation Act of 1920, asserted these applied to all radio communication, whether wireless or point-to-point. Contending the phrasing of the Act to that effect was plain and unambiguous, Porter reminded colleagues of the Court's admonition to the Commission in a recent railroad case where the interpretation of the language of a statute was the central issue.[76]

Moreover, Porter insisted, the majority's contention that broadcasting was unknown at the time of the passage of the Transportation Act was irrelevant for two fundamental reasons. First, said Porter, a general rule of statutory construction is that statutes drawn in general terms apply to new cases and subjects that develop in the future and which fall under their scope and policy.[77] Second, noted Porter, the Court had interpreted the commerce clause of the Constitution along similar lines.[78] In light of these principles, Porter argued:[79]

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[74] Sta-Shine Case, pp. 284-285.

[75] Sta-Shine Case, p. 280-281.

[76] In United States v. Mo. Pac. R. Co., 278 U.S. 269, the Court said that "where the language of an enactment is clear and construction according to its terms does not lead to absurd or impracticable consequences, the words employed are to be taken as the final expression of the meaning intended."

> It is wholly immaterial whether or not the present existing mode of broadcasting in all of its details existed at the time of the passage of the law, provided the statute by its terms, as it clearly does, covers all common carriers engaged in the transmission of intelligence by wireless. Our jurisdiction attaches to all persons engaged in that occupation wholly irrespective of the fact as to whether the mode of operation was known to Congress at the time of the statute or not.

Porter's reasoning on the statutory interpretation issue in Sta-Shine, though it failed to persuade the majority, did receive favorable notice among contemporary legal scholars, but they too, like Porter, conceded that neither NBC or WGBB operated as common carriers. "The language of the Transportation Act," observed Philip F. Herrick, "is broad enough to include at least those radio broadcasters who hold themselves out to be common carriers of intelligence and who offer their services to all who desire them."[80] While acknowledging the strengths of ICC Chairman Porter's dissent in Sta-Shine on legal grounds, another commentator nonetheless offered that the Commission's decision to dismiss the complaint was reasonable. "The Commission acted laudably," asserted John A. Porter, in not placing undue restraints upon a developing industry."[81]

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[77] Porter cited the Supreme Court's pronouncement in De Lima v. Bidwell 182 U.S. 1, 197 (1901), a case involving Congressional power to levy duties on goods traded between the U.S. and its territories (Puerto Rico). The Court ruled that Puerto Rico ceased to be a foreign nation at the close of the Spanish-AMerican War. That meant that duties levied upon goods imported from Puerto Rico had to be approved by Congress. It said: "...while a statute is presumed to speak from the time of its enactment, it embraces all such persons or things as subsequently fall within its scope....."

[78] In its judgment in the Debs case, In Re Debs, 158 U.S. 564, 591 (1895), the Court said: "Constitutional provisions do not change, but their operation extends to new matters as the modes of business and the habits of life of the people vary with each succeeding generation..."

[79] The Sta-Shine Case, p. 281.

Given the growing economic and political power of the commercial broadcast industry, the Commission's decision to dismiss Sta-Shine's complaint was inevitable. Though established in 1926 by its parent firm RCA, not until 1928 did NBC begin to attract enough advertisers to show significant profits.[82] Its advertising income continued to rise thereafter, increasing from earnings of $20,000,000 in 1930 to $25,900,000 in 1931.[83]

NBC's improving financial condition, however, was not trouble-free. NBC's growing success, coincident with the sagging fortunes of non-profit stations brought on by the FRC's re-allocation plan and the economic woes of the Depression, fueled the push by the opposition movement for broadcast reform legislation in Congress.[84] So too, did the negative publicity of the Justice Department's 1930-1932 anti-trust suit against RCA, General Electric, Westinghouse and AT&T demanding the termination of the radio patent-pooling agreements among those firms.[85] Moreover, shortly after the ICC's December 1931 hearing on the jurisdictional issue in Sta-Shine, the so-called Couzens-Dill resolution, authorizing the Federal Radio Commission to undertake a comprehensive investigation of broadcast advertising, was approved by the Senate in January 1932.[86] Taken together, these circumstances help explain NBC's efforts to insure that Sta-Shine's complaint did not proceed beyond the ICC to the courts.

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[80] Herrick, "Jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission Over Radio Broadcasting," p. 245.

[81] John A. Porter, "Interstate Commerce Commission--Jurisdiction Over Broadcasting," Air Law Review 4 (July 1933): 310-311.

[82] John W. Spalding, "1928: Radio Becomes a Mass Advertising Medium," Journal of Broadcasting 8 (Winter 1963/64): 31-44.

[83] "An Appraisal of Radio Advertising Today," Fortune 6 (September 1932): 27.

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[84] McChesney, "The Battle For America's Ears and Minds," pp. 281-297.

[85] Conviction on the anti-trust charges would likely have removed RCA and NBC from the radio communication industry. Section 13 of the 1927 Radio Act prevented corporations found in federal courts to have illegally monopolized radio communication from receiving a broadcast license. Thus RCA and its associated companies pressed hard to prevent the case from coming to trial. Those efforts came to fruition when in November 1932, in lieu of a trial, RCA, GE, and Westinghouse accepted a "consent decree" which removed GE and Westinghouse from the radio manufacturing business. See Hugh G.J. Aitken, The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900-1932 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985): 505-507; and Erik Barnouw, A Tower in Babel: A History of Broadcasting in the United States, Volume I--to 1933 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966): 252-253;

[86] Congressional Record 75 (January 4, 1932): 1194-1195; Congressional Record 75 (January 7, 1932): 1412-1413.

FROM "SYSTEM" TO "CULTURE": HISTORIES OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATION, AND THE UNFINISHED AGENDA

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FROM "SYSTEM" TO "CULTURE": HISTORIES OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATION, AND THE UNFINISHED AGENDA

During the last 15 years, there have been many calls to broaden the traditional anecdotal, biographical approach of journalism history into research that is truly a history of communication.[1] To this end, a growing number of studies attempt to assess interrelationships between people and communication as a social and cultural process.[2] Studies that figure prominently in this ongoing attempt to broaden communication history--and that are done by scholars working in history and historical geography as well as by such scholars in communication history as David Nord, Richard Kielbowicz, and Jerilyn McIntyre--constitute what Nord (in referring to a set of studies about eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America) calls "public communication." Such work examines most generally "how information moved through early American society," and usually attempts to understand the interrelationships between this flow of information and economic development or the spread of ideas.[3]

Despite their growing number, though, studies on public communication have done little to establish more sophisticated, revealing insights into communication phenomena in the human world. A primary reason is that these works' conceptual and theoretical bases are readily accepted without any critical reflection as to whether they are illuminating, productive, or even appropriate for the topic at hand.[4]

This situation has begun to change. Although his observation is relegated to a footnote, Kielbowicz recognizes the similarities between work on public communication and work on diffusion of innovations and its purported role in the "modernization" of regions or nations. He acknowledges the criticisms of modernization theory (saying that it projects "Western values and experiences onto other cultures"), but concludes that scholars working in public communication have much to gain by using it.[5] He implicitly applies this perspective in his own work, the implication being that as long as we limit the use of modernization theory and its concepts to the development of the United States (rendering moot the problems of using a Western framework), we are on generally solid theoretical footing.[6]

However, the connections between diffusion of innovation research and public communication go much deeper than being merely "similarities." Indeed, as this essay will argue, public communication--theoretically and substantively--is a direct heir to it. Although the theoretical stances are largely implicit, all work on public communication relies on concepts articulated in diffusion of innovation research, which itself derives (as will be discussed) from the work of Norbert Wiener on cybernetics and on the structural-functional sociological theories articulated by Talcott Parsons.[7] Many scholars feel that this direct kinship should be capitalized upon.[8] The primary point to be argued in this essay is that this kinship has been and continues to be public communication studies' biggest liability.

The purpose of this essay is to outline then take issue with the theoretical bases and implications of this heritage, then to critique its application as seen in histories of public communication. Public communication scholars' reliance on these theories is particularly unfortunate, especially in view of the emerging interest in cultural processes. Structural-functional theories of society present a rational, consensual, largely ahistorical and economic view of society, and hence are blind to ambiguous, contradictory, contextual, cultural phenomena that inform and pervade historical life in human society. This mechanistic theory foregrounds structure and technology while rendering actual people virtually invisible, making faith in its usefulness for inquiring into human-created and lived culture very misplaced.

At the conclusion of this essay will be a discussion of work in public communication that relies on alternative theories of culture, communication, and society. It will be argued that these alternative theoretical perspectives are much more suited to addressing questions about communication and culture within historical perspectives. In these ways, this study is at once intellectual history, historiographical review, theoretical essay, and critique.

I. SYSTEMS THEORY, CYBERNETICS, AND COMMUNICATION

While few historical studies of public communication explicitly engage the theories that they draw upon, an examination of their heritage reveals that systems theory and cybernetics provide their underlying conceptual and theoretical framework.[9] Not only do cited works refer eventually to systems theory and the sociological theories that made use of them, concepts such as "social system," "information flow," "communication channel," and "communication network" derive from diffusion of innovation research and, ultimately, from systems theory and cybernetics, whether explicitly attributed or not.

Because the focus of this essay is on the manifestation of systems theory and cybernetics in histories of public communication, not on recovering a comprehensive intellectual and cultural history of their development, the discussion below will leave out by necessity many important developments that are nevertheless ancillary to the purpose at hand.[10] Here I will begin by focusing on the general nature of systems theory and cybernetics, its appropriation by American sociologists, the crucial aspects that made it amenable to communication researchers in America, and its implications for histories of public communication.

Systems Theory

The appearance and acceptance of systems theory in American sociology of the 1930s and 1940s can be seen as a manifestation of a general movement in American society toward the pre-eminence of the authority of science and scientific knowledge, signalled perhaps most dramatically by the emergence of Social Darwinism as the basis of a newly secularized society of 1880s Gilded-Age America.[11] Through Herbert Spencer's subsequent appropriation and popularization, Hofstadter points out that Darwinism offered "a comprehensive world-view, uniting under one generalization everything from protozoa to politics."[12] At the close of the 19th Century, Spencer's theory of Social Darwinism had been embraced by scholars working in psychology, ethnology, sociology, and ethics.[13] Of course, the structure of the Social Darwinian world (where every organism and system was linked via competition and natural selection) exhibits the fundamental properties of a worldwide social/economic/ecological system.

Although the roots of systems theory extend back much further than the 1930s, its explicit incorporation into sociology came with the work of Talcott Parsons who, in 1937, published The Structure of Social Action, the first of many books that outlined his theory of a general system of action.[14] For his theory, he drew from many psychological and sociological traditions. On one hand, Parsons acknowledged the insights of the symbolic interactionism of George Herbert Mead and others that people do not simply respond to physical stimuli, but (to paraphrase Parsons) discern, experience, evaluate and manipulate their environment through the use of signs and symbols.[15] On the other hand, Parsons drew equally on the natural and physical sciences and systems theory because he felt it was imperative to organize his theory along these lines in order to make it truly "scientific" (explicitly hierarchical and generalizable).[16]

Systems theory was a way to reach this "scientific" goal. Parsons expressed the nature of a system as "a complex of interdependencies among parts, components, and processes that involves certain regularities of relationship."[17] Therefore, argued Parsons, sociology must be seen as the study of what makes society stick together. Systems theory aided this focus in that one could use it to think about human societies and humans as composed of complex interrelated systems and subsystems (cultural, social, personality, and biological).[18] Because the "health" of these four systems is crucial to a well-functioning society, the maintenance of fully-functional relationships within each system and among these systems is of crucial importance.[19]

The aspect of Parsonian sociology that had great relevance to communication researchers was the incorporation of cybernetics into his theory, thereby placing high importance on the value of information circulation in the maintenance of a system.[20] Mathematician and social philosopher Norbert Wiener formulated the principles in two books he published in postwar America, Cybernetics (1948) and The Human Use of

Human Beings (1950).[21] The characteristic cybernetic process is a self-regulating mechanism; such a mechanism maintains equilibrium by the continuous monitoring of external conditions, interpretation of those conditions, and finally by using this information to bring about internal adjustments and "re-aim" itself toward the desired state. Thermostats, ballistic-missile inertial-guidance systems, and today's automobile cruise-controls all operate on this cybernetic "circular reasoning" basis.[22]

Wiener's innovation was in applying these concepts to human behavior. Maron notes how Wiener and his co-workers, "while working on a theory of an automatic system for aiming anti-aircraft guns . . . were impressed with the critical role of feedback in the proper functioning of a control system."[23] In this line of reasoning, the human brain could be seen as a "complex communication, computer, and control system," and that, by implication, all "cognitive activities involved in higher-level problem-solving behavior also could be interpreted mechanistically in terms of the flow and processing of information."[24] This recognition of information-flow as the crucial process that made a working system (individual and societal) possible had direct relevance to Parsons' theoretical project. Indeed, Parsons came to regard information as one of many media that bound society together, thereby aiding the stability of the system by integrating the system's parts as well as governing the direction in which it changed.[25]

Systems, Cybernetics, and Communication

Systems theory and cybernetics came to mainstream communication research primarily through Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver's book The Mathematical Theory of Communication. This work merged with other lines of thought to form information theory, thereby providing the fundamental concepts for American communication research for years to come.[26] Broadly stated, Shannon and Weaver's model is concerned with maximizing signal strength between a sender and a receiver while minimizing interfering noise that would corrupt the transmitted message.[27] Indeed, much of the thinking in scientific and artistic realms wholeheartedly adopted the language and concepts of systems and cybernetics, seeing everything "in terms of the production, manipulation, and interpretation of information"--what John Peters refers to as an entire "movement to informationalize the world."[28]

The implications of Parsonian sociology and cybernetics for the study of communication are clear. First is the primary role given to information and its "circulation" in holding society together, thereby making society possible. Second is the concept of information itself as a thing that circulates within a system and from system to system, facilitating their internal and external coordination.[29] Third is the focus on generalized functions, rather than on history and meaning.[30] Given these implications, the fundamental task of communication research by the late 1950s became the development of generalizable theories of how information, as a "set of uniform black boxes empty of content," circulates throughout society and with what effects.[31] Indeed, practically all venerable formulations in mainstream communication research--such as Lasswell's three functions--are derived from Parsonian sociology and cybernetics.[32]

II. PRECURSORS TO HISTORIES OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

Turning from studies that foreground communication processes to those that foreground effects of such processes, the legacy of systems theory and cybernetics is easily demonstrated. As will be discussed in this section, not only were structural-functionalist sociologists and traditional communication researchers using such concepts in diffusion of innovation and modernization research, but also scholars in other disciplines who were applying these theories to their own very similar work.

Work in diffusion of innovations as well as in economics, urban studies, and urban planning all draw heavily upon systems theory and cybernetics, and the associated concepts of communication. Indeed, judging from the concepts used and the works cited, the two topic-areas of most importance to histories of public communication are diffusion of innovations research and the interdisciplinary attention paid to processes of urban and regional development.

Diffusion of Innovations

Although systems theory, cybernetics, and information theory formed a crucial base of communication research in America, their most explicit, wide-ranging application has been in diffusion of innovation research.[33] American excursions into pre-industrial domestic regions and foreign countries for the purpose of "modernization" began before the 1950s, but the "scientific" formulation of such activity and the elevation of "information-flow" as a crucial facet emerged in the late 1950s, with the appearance of such work as Daniel Lerner's The Passing of Traditional Society; Modernizing the Middle East (1958).[34] By the early 1960s, the diffusion of innovations research industry had become colonized primarily by Everett Rogers, whose work in the area extends from the late 1950s to the present.[35] Because of its coincidence with agendas set by various departments of the U.S. Government and the advertising and marketing divisions of various multinational corporations, diffusion of innovations research quickly rode to mainstream acceptance during the 1960s and 1970s, fueled by interest, research grants, and funds from these two major contributors.[36]

The ideas about communication and society that were formulated by systems theory and cybernetics are directly applied in this tradition via Parsonian sociology.[37] Indeed, the three implications of systems theory and cybernetics for the study of communication presented above permeate all of Rogers' major work. Rogers and others express and organize their activity in terms of system, function, and structure, which together emphasize control, consensus, and stability. Societies are "social systems," individuals are "units," and exercised power becomes a set of "system norms" that benignly "serve as a guide or a standard for the members of a social system."[38]

Secondly, information flow (in this case, "diffusion" of technological "innovations") remains crucial to this process of furthering the health and stability of the social system. Rogers' allegiance to the Shannon and Weaver model via Berlo's "S-M-C-R" (sender-message-channel-receiver) wanes by 1981, and is "replaced" by a "convergence" model that is more explicitly phenomenological. However, both are radically ahistorical, acontextual, idealist modes of analysis that ignore difference, individuality, contradiction, as well as material, contextual pressures of economics, politics, and power.[39]

Regarding the third implication of systems theory and cybernetics on the study of communication, not only is meaning ignored, Rogers regards this ignorance as a positive attribute: that attention to "signal" rather than "significance" (to borrow Peters' terms) "allows the communication researcher to concentrate on the process [function] of diffusion . . . . [emphasis original]"[40] He attempts to take more of an account of meaning in recent work, but the systems mode of analysis nevertheless focuses on "identifying cliques within the total system," "identifying certain specialized communication roles," and "measuring various communication structural indexes"--a project with value in a structural-functional framework, but with little to say about meaning or culture in the historical world.[41]

Economics and Urbanization

The other major application of Parsonian sociology and cybernetic concepts of communication has been in the interdisciplinary work done on urbanization. Although attention has been devoted to the nature and dynamics of the growth and development of cities in America throughout the nation's short history, the modern understanding of urban studies emerged with the sociology of Robert Park and the Chicago School during the early 20th Century.[42] Indeed, a good case can be made that urban studies in America began with the work of the Chicago School and its attention to describing and theorizing the interrelationships between processes of urbanization and their effects on the nature of community. The overtly ecological theories of the Chicago School have come under severe criticism for some time now.[43] But, by the early 1960s, other similarly systemic approaches came into popularity, based on information theory and, by implication, systems theory and cybernetics.[44]

The most influential work in urban studies that used and developed information theory drew on economics for additional theory and on history for contextualization.[45] The most prominent exponent of this interdisciplinary approach has been geographer Allan Pred, who in the early 1960s began to formulate and explore the applicability of such theories and methods in numerous works throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.[46] Other geographers have relied on Pred's work in this specific historical topic. One example is Susan Brooker-Gross' work on the development of news wire services in the 19th Century.[47] And, because this work spills into history as well as communication, economics, and urbanization, scholars in many disciplines, including history and communication history, have found it valuable.[48]

Pred's work in this area attempts to describe the interrelationships between economic development and information flow during periods of rapid industrialization. His underlying assumptions that justify focusing on information are

> (1) that technological progress in late nineteenth-century cities was promoted by the dissemination of ideas, concepts, observations, and other pieces of technical knowledge through a complex network of interpersonal communications and confrontations; and (2) that such a personal circulation of information was critical in an era when technical periodicals were of increasing but limited importance and mass communications media either unknown or poorly developed . . . .[49]

This description alone draws heavily on systems theory and concepts from cybernetics. Information flows through complex networks, and the technological rather than cultural frame in which this is talked about echoes similar formulations in Rogers' diffusion of innovations work and Parsons' sociological work.

Pred's major contribution was to conceptualize how the dynamics of information flow led to observed patterns of urban development. The answer for him came not from information theory but economic theory and what it had to say about the role of uncertainty in making economic decisions.[50] Given the capitalist imperative of increasing one's market and profits, one way to do this is to exploit valuable information about prices or about innovations in practice or materials. For example, if a commodity trading company has more timely information than its competitors about fluctuating commodity prices, it can conceivably react more quickly to price fluctuations, buying commodities at lower prices before they go up and selling at higher prices before they go down, thereby gaining a competitive advantage.

Pred appropriates a term of economist Harold Innis, calling information in this period of rapid industrialization "spatially biased"--meaning that everyone does not have the same access to information at every possible location.[51] This difference in location determines not only what one knows, but how long it takes new knowledge to get there. Therefore, in the days of early industrialization and comparatively slow transmission of information, whether or not a company had an information advantage depended on where it was located. Because its was home to the stock market, New York City soon became the hub for financial companies and, for similar reasons, Chicago for commodities traders. And, because these places offered a great information advantage to businesses, they grew in size, wealth, and power much more quickly than other cities, thereby causing the emerging information and transportation infrastructure to be built with them at the center of the "network." The early "centering" of these few places further entrenched their advantage as information and economic centers, and explains their continued status (until very recently) as big, wealthy, highly advantageous places for relevant businesses to settle.[52]

Communication in this framework is the reception of economically advantageous intelligence, the psychological result being the lessening of uncertainty, and the material result a skewing of development toward certain places. All the favored places, when seen together, form patterns along the lines of the spatially biased communication network, where some places are at its center (very advantageous) and others at its periphery. Although Pred begins to address questions of content (that such information is specialized and consists of economic news), he maintains a strictly economic, structural-functional framework, foregrounding questions of information flow and communication technology, while leaving broader questions about communication, culture, and society unaddressed.

In effect, the continuity of development from Parsons to Rogers and Pred is quite easily reconstructed. Pred's information theory of urban development supplied the missing macro side to the largely psychological diffusion of innovations research of Rogers' and others.[53] Together they add up to an influential, prevalent, and largely continuing tradition of social-science research based on systems theory and cybernetics, one that persists largely unchallenged in studies of public communication.[54]

III. CRITIQUE OF SYSTEMS THEORY

Theories of diffusion of innovations and information theories of urbanization both depend on concepts and theories of systems and cybernetics. Before moving on to a consideration of the shortcomings of such a perspective for the study of communication and culture, the major points of this mainstream view will be summarized, then critiqued. As has been explained, the structural-functional, systems theory heritage carries with it certain implications--foremost is that society is composed of many systems that are connected via a network of relations. Each system is composed of mutually, functionally interdependent elements that are connected to each other via information networks (as well as other types of media networks).

And, as has been noted, the researchers' goal is to create a generalizable theory that explains why society holds together. One can monitor and control societal change because, as Thomas Bender summarizes, "the pattern of social change can be deduced logically from the structure itself, independent of time, place, or context; independent, in short, of history."[55] Communication in this perspective is the flow of information via channels and networks--the implication being that language and meaning is a self-contained, discrete commodity that is empirically detectable and quantitatively measurable.

But this systems theory/cybernetics tradition has not gone completely unchallenged. Parsons' work-in-process was stridently objected to during its formulation.[56] And Raymond Grew, who wishes to redeem modernization theory (although with some minor changes), still acknowledges the powerful critiques that challenged its ideological, cultural, theoretical, and methodological grounds. In short, critiques of modernization studies charge that it

> served the interests of liberalism, capitalism, and (American) imperialism; used a seemingly objective vocabulary to maintain an ethnocentric Western viewpoint; incorporated false assumptions (teleological ones that see development as uniform, proceeding in stages to a common end, and structural-functional ones that consider equilibrium the natural social state); and employed a taxonomic method that encourage scholars to assign parts of social reality to abstract categories which overlook much that matters (especially about economic relationships and power).[57]

Systems theory has also enjoyed some acceptance in history, especially in such areas as community studies.[58] However, as in modernization theory, its use in history has been roundly criticized along similar lines.[59]

Criticisms of structural-functionalism in public communication studies follow the general themes above. The first shortcoming is the rhetorical as well as theoretical necessity of incorporating everything into one's "system," which by definition cannot take account of processes in ambiguous, paradoxical, or dialectical terms. The political implication is little recognition of dissent, and even less of the provisional nature of dominant interests--the recognition that they are always asserted, not merely adopted. Public communication studies that use this framework tend to present the development of the social system as a consensual one, void of conflict or contradictions.

Secondly, as has been mentioned, historical analysis is largely ignored in favor of abstract, structural-functional analyses. This is surprising for historical work, but is nevertheless the case. Change as a result of complex interactions between people embedded in political, social, cultural, and economic contexts is too often flattened to an exclusive focus on structures such as communication networks, or explained primarily as a result of these networks (technological determinism).

Thirdly, and closely related to the last point, people and their ways of life, and the intersections between them and material realities are not addressed in public communication studies that use systems theory and cybernetics and structural-functional perspectives. Because these perspectives foreground structures and technology, an understanding of communication as a social and cultural process becomes simply a recitation of technological achievements.

Lastly, because these studies regard information in cybernetic terms (a commodity that flows between people and between systems), they cannot account for meaning and significance, nor the nature of language as more than simply a tool to use when one wants to send messages. The meaning of messages--hence, the nature of culture--in a truly historical context is, again, left untouched, regarded by default as unimportant.

IV. HISTORIES OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

The legacy of systems theory and cybernetics persists in histories of public communication, with the consequence that such work contains fundamental contradictions. While histories of public communication attempt by definition to present accounts of historical change in an historical context, the continued use of systems theory and cybernetics works against this goal. Concepts such as "information flow," "communication channel," and "social system" skew research into structural-functional, economic, and technological-determinist directions, despite the best efforts of scholars to focus otherwise. Although this contradiction exists in all such studies, it is most pronounced in those that attempt to examine cultural questions, to which systems and cybernetic theories of communication and society are completely blind.

Studies of the Social System

One way in which systems theory and cybernetics is put to use in studies of public communication is by explicitly applying Parsonian sociology to historical analysis. These studies attempt to document communication networks within specified systems, and to examine the implications of information flows on the social structure. In this sense, structural-functionalist sociology provides the primary theoretical frame, with the inherent drawbacks of presenting a consensual view of society, an a-historical focus on communication networks that loses sight of meaning and culture.

An early example is McIntyre's study (1973) of the structure of communication in an Oregon frontier community during the 1860s.[60] Half the study is a straightforward historical narrative that describes the town's and area's infrastructural development. The rest of the study is a discussion of the agencies, institutions and individual "channels" which constituted the networks of communication in Jacksonville. The community as a bounded system, and information as a means of establishing and maintaining interdependencies, thereby ensuring the survival of the community (the system), comprise the basic concepts guiding the study. Both are drawn from systems theory.[61]

McIntyre is candid in her evaluation of the usefulness of systems theory for historical research of this type. On one hand, it promises the potential of identifying fundamental social and communicative processes that persist across time and space (a hope characteristic of American communication research of the early 1970s, as well as to the aim of Parsonian sociology). Yet, there are significant drawbacks. They include the lack of adequate documentation of such an ephemeral process as interpersonal communication, and the inevitable foregrounding of the structure of communication (in what ways the messages were transmitted) at the expense of function (the effects of the messages).

Other more fundamental drawbacks can be traced to the deeper implications of systems theory, the first being the positing of a frontier community as a consensual, unified, clearly bounded "system." Recent historical work documents clearly tnat the development of frontier communities was an extremely contentious and divisive process.[62] Another serious drawback is in the nature of the theory itself: that it is unable to talk about meaning. Indeed, despite efforts to keep real people in the study, it ends up being unavoidably sterile and abstract.[63]

Hazel Dicken-Garcia's study (1977) of migration to Kentucky during the 18th Century relies on theories and methods explored in McIntyre's study, and shares many of the same drawbacks, although not as frankly acknowledged as in McIntyre's study. Its general purpose is to examine what kinds of information about Kentucky was available to potential migrants, and which "channels" it "flowed" through.[64] The definitions of communication and of communication-systems that are used are clearly derived from systems theory and cybernetics, and are exclusively concerned with questions of technology. In it, communication consists of the creation of a product and its transmission, and the communication-system is the entirety of this production and transmission within society.[65]

As a result of this framework, the study is largely an examination of the state of communication technology in this time and place, and of what kinds of information was primarily carried by each system. While Garcia attempts to address questions of meaning and culture (and toward that end presents an exhaustive recounting of the contents of newspapers and letters of that place and time) the systems perspective inevitably renders an interpretation of newspapers and letter content as one that reveals "order, tradition, and stability in society"--a consensual interpretation that does not detect any hint of conflict or dissention.[66]

Charles Whetherell's study of printers' networks in pre-Revolution America is a similar attempt to reconstruct a social system, this time of printers in colonial America, and the effects of this network on the content of information and ideas that this network helped produce.[67] Despite the valuable recognition of "printers" as an occupation with a history (that printers had been recruited, taught, and launched into their careers), drawbacks to the study stem from its structural-functional framework. The network of printers is conceived of as a stable, cooperative, supportive structure united by its common goals of printing and earning a living. Not only is emphasis placed on consensus, with much less recognition of competition and economic pressures on individuals that undercut this consensus, the fluidity of this "system" is not addressed. In addition, the analysis of structure begs an analysis of "function"--effects not only on content but on the nature of the relationship between news, society, and culture.

Studies of Technology and Economics

A second set of studies in this public communication topic focuses on the development of technology and the impact on information flows, rather than on the structure and function of communication in society. In this way, they attempt to leave behind the problem of reconciling an historical approach with a systems perspective, because their interest is economies and technologies, not people, communities, or culture, nor the interactions between them. Such work relies on technological-determinist arguments when justifying its significance (that technology causes social change), and on structural-functionalist arguments when attempting to explain the relevance of technology to communication (that the direction of social change can be detected by a structural analysis).

Nord's study (1984) examines how evangelical organizations in early 19th century U.S. created mass production and distribution technology (new machines as well as new practices) that subsequently became fundamental to the operation of all mass media.[68] The value of this study is in its attempt to explain the development of this technology within intellectual and cultural currents. The evangelical impulse provided the powerful rationale for developing new means of production; it also provided a ready-made means of distribution that drew as well on the evangelical impulse.

Despite this exploration of the motivations behind the development of the technology, the focus of the study remains on technology and, by implication, how the flow of information increased; the bulk of the study consists of descriptions of what the new machines and the new practices were. As such, it fits well with traditional journalism histories, in which the development of technology is portrayed as the inevitable maturation of the Fourth Estate--this study simply identifying when the "real" beginning was. Much less is said about broader issues of communication and technology, such as the implications for the nature of news and information in mass media, or implications of this new technology and means of organization for the workers and their families and lives.[69]

Kielbowicz' work examines how public policy and technological developments shaped the developing communications transmission networks as well as how it affected the flow of information.[70] The work is valuable because it undercuts the traditional natural-evolution interpretation of the development of mass media in America by documenting how the growth and pattern of distribution networks did not emerge "naturally," but were radically shaped by policy decisions that were themselves shaped in the pro-business, pro-development political milieu of the day.

However, its exclusive focus on the distribution of mass media products leaves out a consideration of producers and consumers; the studies conclude that "news traveled faster," and--other than an outline of the kinds of content in major categories of media--say little in addition. Unfortunately there also is little exploration of the broader political, cultural, or social context of the policy decisions that had such a crucial role in shaping the communications technological network. In many ways, the development of the network is an expression of cultural forces at work, and it is this shifting, negotiated constellation of cultural forces that deserves more attention. In short, the primary focus is on describing the resulting system and the kinds of things it carried, rather than on social or cultural genesis or the social and cultural implications of this development.[71]

Ian Steele's study of the material development of the transatlantic trade between Britain and the colonies attempts to document the development of these trade routes, the efforts to speed up the flow of goods and information along them, and finally to understand the political, economic, and social effects of the development of these channels.[72] In essence, the study focuses on how the capacity (frequency, time lag between sending and receiving) of various systems changed how they were used. The study also provides some idea of the kinds of information transmitted through the systems.

Not only does this rather straightforward focus on the economics of trade patterns leave culture (ways of seeing) out of the picture, it also has far less to say about everyday people and everyday life, concentrating instead on colonial and British elites and others who participate at the top of the economic and political system. The conclusion that "between 1675 and 1740 the development of communications encouraged, accompanied, and resulted from the creation of an English Atlantic economic, political, and social community" posits a level of consensus and stability that ignores problems of politics, economics, slavery, and others.

Geographer Susan Brooker-Gross' work draws upon Pred and Innis, and attempts to understand how the spatial nature of communication networks affects the kinds of information sent through it to different places. These studies of the development of news wire services in America, of the geographical nature of television-news distribution attempt to focus on mass media, rather than specialized business information as Pred does, and are valuable for that reason.[73] They also document how space (in terms of where one was located in a network) was a crucially valuable and struggled-for advantage.

However, by focusing on technology and economic implications of media development, there is less attention focused to what exactly all this "flowing information" means to the people getting it. Even in more recent work, which deals with the balance of local news as compared to nonlocal news in small-town 19th Century newspapers, the difference is explained in terms of technology without consideration to broader social and cultural issues.[74]

Toward Culture

Very recent work has turned away from explicitly systems or cybernetic language and concepts, and toward considerations of communication and culture within a well-developed historical context. However, most of these studies nevertheless operate uncritically within a systems framework (information transmission as holding society together); the studies that do not operate within this residual framework have yet to develop an alternative perspective that allows a more complete assessment of communication and culture.[75] In either case, the residual legacy of systems theory and cybernetics or the void left in the wake of its disappearance continues to prevent a more sophisticated, complex understanding of communication and culture from developing.

McIntyre's examination of the emergence of newspaper-like newssheets in 16th Century Venice seeks to understand the historical reasons (cultural, social, economic, political, and their interrelationships) for their appearance in this place and time.[76] The growth of commerce and the publishing industry in Venice, high levels of literacy and education, and the centrality of trade--and, therefore, of participation in intra-"European" commercial and political activities--in Venetian life. Importantly, the way in which these newssheets fit into Venetian traditions of what McIntyre calls "symbolizing behaviors" is a constituent part of the analysis--focusing squarely on meaning, on uses, and on culture.

Nevertheless, the move from "system" to "culture" is incomplete. The study is placed apart from current theoretical debates in the social sciences and humanities, making its potential contributions largely implicit and therefore of lesser value to other scholars. In addition, the study ends with a call to recognize continuity of media forms with earlier forms--a welcome historical argument that is nevertheless unsatisfying for readers in late 20th Century America beset by particularly pressing political, economic, and cultural problems and issues, and looking for better ways to address them.

Nord's study of the Puritan heritage of news attempts to explore the relationships between media forms and world-views.[77] The Puritan doctrine of divine providence lent itself quite well to a rendering of occurrences in the community (representations that today we call "news") as similarly providential--in Nord's terms, "teleological." In this way, the study is valuable for its documentation of the historical origins of this persistent nature of news--and for his linking today's practice of news with its historical origins.

Although the study focuses on the cultural roots of this "teleological" nature of journalism, the means of quantitative content analysis used reduces the complexity of meaning to discrete categories, treating it as a commodity, and not addressing its intertextual nature. In addition, the study remains essentially an idealist analysis by not exploring the material means by which this world-view is culturally reproduced, and the role of media in this process of reproduction. The doctrine "touches" literature from other places, it is "made central," it "emigrated to America"--simply metaphoric or superficial allusions to very crucial, material processes. We learn that the doctrine "directed the official, authoritative representation and interpretation of the public life of the community." However, the connection between the doctrine and this power it appears to have is not sufficiently made.

David Cressy's study of communication and its role in the 17th Century movement of people between England and New England attempts to understand not only why people moved from England to New England during this time, but the significance of this move for them.[78] Concerning motivation, individual behavior (while shaped by larger ideas such as Puritanism) was affected as well by many random, personal, and pragmatic factors which undercut arguments as to the primacy of either ideas or conditions in "causing" people to move. Concerning the significance of the move, Cressy concludes that it was much less of a break than most historians and others assume. Transatlantic connections to England via letters, newspapers, and other such material were not only maintained, but cherished. This communication between the "old world" and the "new" allowed those in New England to continuously recreate their identities as British citizens, despite the distances involved.

While the study identifies the cultural implications of communication (that it aided the continued reformation of the British identity of people several thousand miles away), it nevertheless relies on a view of communication as simply the transmission of information. It does not attempt to explain just how this "information" caused this British identity to maintain itself. Nor does it attempt to complicate its traditional cybernetic concept of language and information as a commodity that flows through channels.

Richard Brown seeks to "delineate some of the ways in which information moved through society, in an attempt to discern who commanded what sort of knowledge, and with what kinds of social consequences."[79] The unique value of this study is that it does not try to trace the "major routes" of an "information network," but attempts to understand in depth the individuals who were a part of this information-diffusion system. Brown is not interested in either information networks or in individuals, but in what he calls the "intersections" between them, or (in perhaps clearer terms) the times and events where specific information had some impact on a specific person's actions or thoughts.

To this end, Brown spends much time immersed in the minutiae of everyday, idiosyncratic activities of a select few people, attempting to discern what they knew, how they came to know it, and what they did with what they knew. However, the study's sample is composed strictly of white, middle- and upper-class people--a serious drawback underscored by the recent innovative work of social historians who use sources other than diaries, letters, and journals. Like the other studies too, this study retains the language of networks and information flow, leaving unexamined how this information contributes to one's identity or to the recreation of a particular culture. In short, its lack of any even mildly sophisticated understanding of communication, language, and culture makes its deeper contribution to the understanding of communication and culture quite superficial.

V. ALTERNATIVES

Whatever its value as historiographical review and intellectual history, the primary purpose of this paper has been to unearth and foreground underlying theoretical bases so that they can be adequately recognized and critiqued. As "natural" and "inevitable" as the concepts and theories of systems theory and cybernetics might seem to be, they must be recognized in all their tentativeness and arbitrariness as well--as institutionally underwritten, not as naturally inevitable. When one sees such theoretical bases as arbitrary constructions with very real shortcomings, the range of alternatives--and the possibility of directly addressing questions of communication and culture--broadens considerably.

Other essays have discussed the implications of systems theory and cybernetics in terms of a "transmission" model of communication.[80] In such a model, communication is the movement of messages through a network, language is a commodity that moves, and as long as a sender and receiver are not trying to intentionally deceive one another, the meaning that gets to the receiver is exactly what the sender sent.[81]

Although the "transmission" model is usually counterpoised to a "ritual" model, an alternative understanding to "transmission" that is perhaps more fundamental would be a structural understanding of language. The basis for such an understanding is the theoretical linguistics work of Charles Peirce, Ferdinand de Saussure, Edward Sapir, and Benjamin Whorf, which was introduced into media studies via Claude Lévi-Strauss' applications to anthropology and Roland Barthes' to literary criticism.[82] In this alternative sense, language--by structuring (categorizing and thereby helping us make sense of our world)--is not simply a tool that people use to refer to things; it actively mediates between us and our world and, as such, is inextricably a part of and helps constitute it and us.[83]

This alternative conception of language, culture, and what public communication can be seen as is demonstrated in at least two studies. James Carey's study of the adoption of telegraph technology attempts to identify "the effect of the telegraph on ordinary ideas: the coordinates of thought, the natural attitude, practical consciousness, or, less grandly, common sense." Although the argument hinges on primarily economic and technological developments, and some historians may wish to see more thorough primary-source documentation, the study is valuable because of its focus on how these developments affected culture. The changes came about not because of an increase or drop in the rate of information-flow, but because of the interrelationships between lives and this new way of knowing, mediated by language.[84]

A second emerging body of work that draws more forcefully on current debates about the nature of social theory is that of Pred, post-1981. He and others attempt to explore the interrelations between the shaping of individual lives, social institutions and formations, and culture, while not losing sight of their historical and geographic nature. In other words, language-use is not simply the transmission of information. It "facilitates the geographically specific perpetuation of institutions, the temporally deep sedimentation of locally occurring institutional practices, of locally occurring patterns of social life."[85] Not only does Pred's work draw upon alternative theories of language and communication, it is informed by a great deal of empirical historical research, the point of which is to more thoroughly scour the past for what it can tell us about how these processes occur in all their material variation.[86]

Concluding Comments

The recent work in histories of public communication is largely a restatement and specific illustrations of principles outlined in the late 1950s with systems theory as applied in traditional sociology and the diffusion-of-innovation research of the early 1960s. Recent attention to culture illustrates both a disenchantment with these mechanistic, homogenizing theories as well as how far these cultural questions outrun traditional theories and methodologies.

The alternatives only briefly identified foreground questions about language and media forms within radically historical contexts, thereby foregrounding questions about meaning. Such a focus draws, in turn, upon an alternative concepts of language, culture, and communication that leave behind questions of information-flow and communication networks for seeking the variations in the relationships between social formations and language-use in historical and geographic contexts. It is these alternative concepts that can immeasurably enrich historical inquiry into public communication.

NOTES

[1] The oft-cited initial volley in this critical assessment of journalism history is James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," Journalism History 1:1 (Spring 1974): 3-5, 27. Recent critiques include various essays by Hanno Hardt, the most recent being "Newsworkers, Technology, and Journalism History," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 7:4 (December 1990): 346-65.

[2] One indication is the establishment of "qualitative studies" in mainstream communication research.

[3] David Paul Nord, "Teleology and News: The Religious Roots of American Journalism, 1630-1730," Journal of American History 77:1 (June 1990): 13.

[4] One of the few works in public communication that foregrounds theoretical issues is Jerilyn McIntyre, "The Structure of Communication in an Emerging Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Oregon, 1852-56" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1973).

[5] Richard Kielbowicz, News in the Mail: The Press, Post Office, and Public Information, 1700-1860s (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 10.

[6] Kielbowicz notes that "surprisingly, however, models derived from Western experience have not been applied to historical studies of communication in the development of the United States"--a clear statement of his (and other historians of public communication) aim to do just this. Kielbowicz, News in the Mail, 10.

The "two-step flow" concept of communication that supposedly "complicated" the earlier hypodermic-needle theory of Lazarsfeld and company is put to use in very recent work on public communication. For two examples, see Bradford W. Scharlott, "Influence of Telegraph on Wisconsin Newspaper Growth," Journalism Quarterly 66:3 (Autumn 1989): 710-15; and Richard Kielbowicz, "News Gathering by Mail in the Age of the Telegraph: Adapting to a New Technology," Technology and Culture 28:1 (January 1987): 26-41.

For one discussion of the two-step flow concept, see Elihu Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-Date Report on an Hypothesis," Public Opinion Quarterly 21:1 (Spring 1957): 61-78.

[7] Many scholars have recognized this connection. For one example, see Raymond Grew, "Modernization and Its Discontents," American Behavioral Scientist 21:2 (December 1977): 292.

[8] In addition to Kielbowicz, other historians who find value in modernization theory despite all its shortcomings include Grew, "Modernization"; Raymond Grew, "More on Modernization," Journal of Social History 14:2 (Winter 1980): 179-88; and Peter Stearns, "Modernization and

Social History: Some Suggestions, And A Muted Cheer," Journal of Social History 14:2 (Winter 1980): 189-209.

[9] As noted, one of the few scholars that has foregrounded such considerations is McIntyre, "The Structure of Communication." A review of literature that establishes this heritage is Charles R. Wright, Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Random House, 1975). Evidence of its continued use includes Melvin DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, Theories of Mass Communication (New York: Longman, 1989).

[10] For a detailed contextual analysis of systems theory in America, see Robert Lilienfeld, The Rise of Systems Theory: An Ideological Analysis (New York: Wiley, 1978).

[11] Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, revised ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 30.

[12] Hofstadter, 38. For another view of the effect of Spencer and the British positivists on American social science, see Luther Bernard, Origins of American Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell,, 1943), 145-60.

[13] Ibid. Of course, the philosophical roots of modern sociological thought go back further than Spencer, to at least the eighteenth-century. See Bernard, 11-32.

[14] Parsons wrote that this work was the "basic reference point" for all his work to follow. See Talcott Parsons, "The Point of View of the Author," in The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, edited by Max Black (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1961), 316.

[15] Parsons numbered among them a medical-biological interpretation of Freudian psychology, the sociology of Max Weber as well as Emile Durkheim, and the symbolic-interactionism of Chicago School sociologists George Herbert Mead and Charles Cooley. David L. Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan, 1968), s.v. "Systems Analysis: Social Systems," by Talcott Parsons, 459-60.

[16] Guy Rocher, Talcott Parsons and American Sociology (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975), 30-1.

[17] Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, s.v. "Systems Analysis: Social Systems," by Talcott Parsons, 458.

[18] Rocher, 50, 63.

[19] The political implication of such thinking was that scientific "authority" bolstered conservative or traditional liberal political agendas. See Andrew Hacker, "Sociology and Ideology," in The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, edited by Max Black (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1961), 289-310.

[20] For an overview of this connection, see Rocher, 50-1.

[21] Norbert Wiener, Cybernetics: Or Control and Communication in the Animal and Machine, 2nd. ed. (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1962 [1948]); Norbert Wiener, The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society, 2nd. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954 [1950]).

[22] Concise summaries of cybernetics and the broad implications of Wiener's work are David L. Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan, 1968), s.v. "Cybernetics," by M.E. Maron; and Erik Barnouw, et al., eds., International Encyclopedia of Communications (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), s.v. "Cybernetics," by Klaus Krippendorff.

[23] Peters speculates on implications of the surprising ease with which cybernetics was applied simultaneously to describing weapons of destruction and fundamental characteristics of human behavior. See John Durham Peters, "Information: Notes Toward a Critical History," Journal of Communication Inquiry 12:2 (Summer 1988): 19-21.

[24] Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, s.v. "Cybernetics," by M.E. Maron, 4.

[25] Rocher, 50-1, 64-7. For a schematic representation of the interrelations among systems in the Parsonian theory of society, see Rocher, 66. For a general discussion of the relevance of cybernetics to the social sciences, see Barnouw, et al., eds., International Encyclopedia of Communications, s.v. "Cybernetics," by Klaus Krippendorff, 445.

[26] Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver, The Mathematical Theory of Communication (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949); a second edition was published in 1964. Another early mathematical expression of communication by mainstream communication researchers that is indebted to Shannon and Weaver's work is Melvin DeFleur and Otto Larsen, The Flow of Information (New York: Harper, 1958).

Within a few years, cybernetics was a major cornerstone of mainstream communication research. See Wilbur Schramm, "How Communication Works," in Wilbur Schramm, ed., The Process and Effects of Mass Communication (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954), 3-26. Although it is more than 40 years old, it is one of the few "that have been very influential in the short history of mass communication research." See Dennis McQuail and Sven Windahl, Communication Models (New York: Longman, 1981), 12. For a concise summary of the structural-functionalist approach to communication research that relied on Parsons and others, see Dennis McQuail, Mass Communication Theory, 2nd ed. (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1987), 68-74.

[27] In Peters' phrase, it was "a theory of signals and not of 'significance'." Peters, "Information," 17.

[28] Ibid., 18.

[29] See John Durham Peters, "The Control of Information," Critical Review 1:4 (Fall 1987): 5-23.

[30] Peters, "Information," 18-21; Carolyn Marvin, "Information and History," in The Ideology of the Information Age, edited by Jennifer Daryl Slack and Fred Fejes (Norwood: Ablex, 1987), 50-9. This emphasis on function and blindness toward meaning was also noted by Raymond Williams in "Communications as Cultural Science," Journal of Communication 24:3 (Summer 1974): 17-25.

[31] The quoted phrase is from Marvin, 56.

[32] Barnouw, et al., eds., International Encyclopedia of Communications, s.v. "Cybernetics," by Klaus Krippendorff, 445; Harold Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in Mass Communications, edited by Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960), 117-30. Karl Deutsch is another political scientist interested in information-circulation who adopted a systems approach; the work that most explicitly aligns with this perspective is The Nerves of Government (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

[33] Thomas Bender, "Social Theory and the Problem of Community," chap. in Community and Social Change in America (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978), 23.

[34] A founding statement of orthodox post-WWII modernization theory is Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (New York: The Free Press, 1958). The most comprehensive interdisciplinary early review is Elihu Katz, Martin L. Levin, and Herbert Hamilton, "Traditions of Research on the Diffusion of Innovations," American Sociological Review 28:2 (April 1963): 237-52.

Two other oft-cited early works in communication research are Elihu Katz, "The Diffusion of New Ideas and Practices," in The Science of Human Communication, edited by Wilbur Schramm (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 77-93; and Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

[35] For an early statement, see Everett Rogers and George M. Beal, "The Importance of Personal Influence in the Adoption of Technical Changes," Social Forces 36:4 (May 1957): 329-34. In addition to numerous articles and monographs, Rogers' series of books on diffusion of innovations is Diffusion of Innovations (New York: The Free Press, 1962); The Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach (New York: The Free Press, 1971); and Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1983).

[36] Kielbowicz notes that "for at least the last twenty-five years, the topic of communication and development (or modernization) has been one of the most active areas of inquiry in the field of communication," and that it has been challenged within recent years. See Kielbowicz, News in the Mail, 10.

Rogers notes with pride the relevance and indebtedness of diffusion of innovations research to the activities of the U.S. Government and multinational corporations, thereby making a case for the importance of diffusion of innovations research on the basis of its applicability to political and marketing objectives. See Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd. ed., 88. Indeed, the goal of such research was by the early 1970s "to design more effective programs of planned change." See Rogers, Communication of Innovations, 10.

For a recent critique of comparative media research (that often has this "modernization" aim), see Hanno Hardt, "Comparative Media Research: The World According to America," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 5:2 (June 1988): 129-46.

[37] Everett Rogers and D. Lawrence Kincaid, Communication Networks; Toward a New Paradigm for Research (New York: The Free Press, 1981), xi.

[38] Rogers, Communication of Innovations, 28-31. See also the chart on 72-3 that outlines "Types of Diffusion Research."

[39] Rogers and Kincaid, 55; Rogers, Communication of Innovations, 11.

[40] Rogers, Communication of Innovations, 68. See also the chart on 102, "Paradigm of the innovation-decision process." The phrase of Peters is in Peters, "Information," 17.

[41] Rogers and Kincaid, 83.

[42] For overviews of the concerns of the Chicago School, see Martin Bulmer, The Chicago School of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); and Fred Matthews, Quest for an American Sociology; Robert E. Park and the Chicago School (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1977). For a discussion of broader historical context of its development, see Jean Quandt, From the Small Town to the Great Community; The Social Thought of Progressive Intellectuals (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970); and Raymond Wilson, In Quest of Community: Social Philosophy in the United States, 1860-1920 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968).

[43] For an excellent overview of criticisms, as well as evidence of its renewed utility, see B. Warf, "The Reconstruction of Social Ecology and Neighborhood Change in Brooklyn," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 8:1 (March 1990): 73-96.

[44] Early evidence of the combination of urban studies and information theory includes the appearance of work such as Richard Meier, A Communications Theory of Urban Growth (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1962), which analyzed development exclusively in terms of information networks and flows. A recent review of the systems perspective as it applies to urbanization in the U.S. is R.J. Johnston, The American Urban System: A Geographical Perspective (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982).

[45] A concise overview of economic explanations of the dynamics of development is James W. Simmons, "The Organization of the Urban System," in L.S. Bourne and J.W. Simmons, ed., Systems of Cities; Readings on Structure, Growth, and Policy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 61-9. The work of economist Harold Innis (a theorist of demonstrated importance to communication researchers) is only one of several economics-based explanations. Innis' ideas are put forward in work such as The Bias of Communication (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1951).

For another influential example of linking economic theories, information flows, and development in an historical context, see Michael Conzen, "The Maturing Urban System in the United States, 1840-1910," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 67:1 (March 1977): 88-108; and Conzen, "The American Urban System in the Nineteenth Century," in Geography and the Urban Environment: Progress in Research and Applications, vol. 4, edited by David Herbert and Ron Johnson (New York: J. Wiley, 1981), 295-347.

[46] Allan Pred, "The External Relations of Cities During the 'Industrial Revolution'" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1963). The works most cited by historians of public communication are Pred, Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); and Pred, Urban Growth and City-Systems in the United States, 1840-1860 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

[47] Susan Brooker-Gross, "News Wire Services in the Nineteenth-Century United States," Journal of Historical Geography 7:2 (April 1981): 167-79; Susan [Brooker-] Gross, "Spatial Organization of the News Wire Services in the Nineteenth-Century United States" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977).

[48] For a useful discussion of the relevance of geographical perspectives to historians, see Edward M. Cook, "Geography and History: Spatial Approaches to Early American History," Historical Methods 13:1 (Winter 1980): 19-28.

[49] Allan Pred, The Spatial Dynamics of U.S. Urban-Industrial Growth, 1800-1914: Interpretive and Theoretical Essays (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1966), 127-8.

[50] Rogers' recent work in diffusion of innovations takes up an economic "uncertainty" concept of information, as well. See Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd. ed., 6.

[51] Allan Pred, "The Growth and Development of Systems of Cities in Advanced Economies," in Systems of Cities and Information Flows by Allan Pred and Gunnar E. Törnqvist, Lund Series in Geography, Series B: Human Geography, no. 38 (Lund: Gleerup, 1973), 42.

[52] This is a very brief overview of Pred's argument as presented in a series of works over the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the major ones being "The Growth and Development of Systems of Cities," Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information, and Urban Growth and City-Systems.

[53] The degree to which the economic perspective used by Pred is adopted by Rogers can be seen in Rogers' definition of information in 1983: "a difference in matter-energy that affects uncertainty in a situation where a choice exists among a set of alternatives." Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd. ed., xviii.

[54] Indeed, Parsons' social theories as articulated by "neo-functionalists" are enjoying a mini-comeback in social theory. See, for

example, Roland Robertson and Bryan S. Turner, ed., Talcott Parsons: Theorist of Modernity (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1991). As the persistence of Rogers' work indicates, neo-functionalist perspectives remain in the communication research mainstream.

[55] Bender, 23.

[56] For a summary, see Hacker, 289-310.

[57] Before launching into an argument that such problems were due to how the theory was applied and not to any inherent defect, Grew admits that "broadly taken, these charges seem to me essentially correct." Grew, "More on Modernization," 180.

For two wide-ranging critiques, see Dean C. Tipps, "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective," Comparative Studies in Society and History 15:2 (March 1973): 199-266; and Charles Tilly, ed., The Formation of National States in Western Europe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

For critiques that center on communication research in this area, see Herbert Schiller, Communication and Cultural Domination (White Plains: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1976); and Hardt, "Comparative Media Research."

[58] For an example of how quantitative methods and structural-functional, predictive models had reached mainstream social history, see "Editorial: Historical Methods for the 1980s," Historical Methods 13:1 (Winter 1980): 1; as well as Darrett Rutman, "Community Study," Historical Methods 13:1 (Winter 1980): 29-44.

[59] James A. Henretta alludes to this "social-scientizing" of social history and reactions to it in "Social History as Lived and Written," American Historical Review 84:5 (December 1979): 1293-323.

[60] McIntyre, "The Structure of Communication."

[61] Ibid., 9.

[62] Although Doyle is amenable to structural-functional analysis, he nevertheless recognizes the fallacy of consensus on the frontier. See Don Harrison Doyle, "Social Theory and New Communities in Nineteenth-Century America," Western Historical Quarterly 8:2 (April 1977): 151-65.

[63] This was an explicit critique of McIntyre's dissertation--a shortcoming that was foreseen and acknowledged by the author. See preliminary pages to McIntyre, "The Structure of Communication."

[64] Hazel Faye Garcia, "Communication in the Migration to Kentucky, 1769-1792" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977).

[65] Ibid., 498-9.

[66] Ibid., 500.

[67] Charles Wheele Whetherell, "Brokers of the Word: An Essay in the Social History of the Early American Press, 1639-1783" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 1980), 2.

[68] David Paul Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835," Journalism Monographs 88 (May 1984), 2.

[69] Hardt, "Newsworkers" makes this point in much more detail.

[70] The following studies illustrate Kielbowicz's approach: Kielbowicz, "Newsgathering by Printers' Exchanges Before the Telegraph," Journalism History 9:2 (Summer 1982): 42-8; Kielbowicz, "The Press, Post Office, and Flow of News in the Early Republic," Journal of the Early Republic 3:3 (Fall 1983): 255-280; Kielbowicz, "Speeding the News by Postal Express, 1825-1861: The Public Policy of Privileges for the Press," Social Science Journal 22:1 (January 1985): 49-63; Kielbowicz, News in the Mail.

[71] Among others, Kielbowicz draws on Innis, Pred, and Karl Deutsch--all of whom worked in the systems tradition. See News in the Mail, 9, 11.

[72] Ian K. Steele, The English Atlantic 1675-1740; An Exploration of Communication and Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[73] Susan Brooker-Gross, "News and Wire Services"; Susan Brooker-Gross, "News and Metropolitan Hinterland and Hierarchy," Urban Geography 4:2 (April-June, 1983): 138-55; Susan Brooker-Gross, "Spatial Aspects of Newsworthiness," Geografiska Annaler, Series B 65B:1 (1983): 1-9.

[74] Susan Brooker-Gross, "The Changing Concept of Place in the News," in Geography, the Media, and Popular Culture, ed. Jacqueline Burgess and John R. Gold (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), 63-85.

[75] This is not to say that such scholars work independently of a theoretical orientation. Henretta calls this traditional orientation in American history "empirical pragmatism." See Henretta, 1307.

[76] Jerilyn McIntyre, "The Avvisi of Venice: Toward an Archaeology of Media Forms," Journalism History (Summer/Autumn 1987): 68-77.

[77] Nord, "Teleology and News."

[78] David Cressy, Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[79] Richard D. Brown, Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3.

[80] James W. Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," chap. in Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 15-8.

[81] This faith in information-transmission goes back at least to John Locke and his notions about communication and meaning. See John Durham

Peters, "John Locke, the Individual, and the Origin of Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech 75:4 (November 1989): 387-99.

[82] Stuart Hall, "Cultural studies and the Centre: Some Problematics and Problems," in Culture, Media, Language, ed. Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 26-38; James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woollacott, "The Study of the Media: Theoretical Approaches," in Culture, Society and the Media, ed. Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran, and Janet Woollacott, reprint ed. (London: Routledge, 1988), 23-5.

[83] Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of Ideology: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," in Culture, Society and the Media, ed. Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran, and Janet Woollacott, reprint ed. (London: Routledge, 1988), 66-8.

[84] James W. Carey, "Technology and Ideology: The Case of the Telegraph," chap. in Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 202.

[85] Allan Pred, "The Locally Spoken Word and Local Struggles," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 7:2 (June 1989): 212.

[86] For examples, see Allan Pred, Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies: The Local Transformation of Practice, Power Relations, and Consciousness (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990); and Allan Pred, Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the Language of Everyday Life in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

A History of Public Opinion Polls in the Mass Media

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a historical examination of the media's use of public opinion polls as a reporting device and an element of content. The practice is characterized as evolving through three distinct epochs, varying in terms of the populations, methods, sources, and topics of poll stories. Individuals and organizations most closely associated with media polls are identified and events believed to be responsible for changes in poll usage are discussed. Comments are offered regarding prior historical writing on the topic.

As a tool for reporting on topical issues, elections, and human interest news, survey research has moved from a rarely used novelty to an ingrained tool of the mass media in the last part of the twentieth century. Significant advancements in survey methodology by those in the polling industry and in academe have been paralleled by an ever increasing use of polls in the press. Indeed, there now seems every reason to regard polls in the media as a "political institution," as suggested in one symposium on the topic (Cantril, 1980, p. 167).

This paper will provide some background on where the omnipresent poll reports of the 1990s come from. A historical overview of the practice will be presented with a description and discussion of how media polls have evolved to their current institutional stature.

In addition, an alternative framework for considering the history of polls in the media is offered here. Past writing on the subject tends to present the phenomenon in a single continuous chronology from earliest use through the present, with significant developments and events noted and incorporated into one historical description and explanation (e.g., Gallup, 1972; Costello, 1976).

The following discussion deviates somewhat from this traditional straight-line approach to the history of polls in the media. Instead, three distinct epochs are identified and examined as containing especially important points of demarcation for understanding the role that polls have come to play in the media and perhaps for the audience and society.

IN THE BEGINNING

Some have searched for the origins of polling as an entity of its own, separate from its use in the media. Zeisel (1973) refers to something resembling polling as far back as the renaissance of the fifteenth century. Martin (1984) cites British census studies from the seventeenth century as the beginnings of public opinion polls. Others suggest that polling has its roots in this country in the early 1800s, noting such practices as the recording of guests' presidential preferences on hotel registers (Boorstin, 1965) and tabulating the number of toasts raised to different candidates (Tankard, 1972) as the first attempts at measuring public sentiment.

While such anecdotal descriptions have value as examples of the same sense of social curiosity to which today's poll reports seem to respond, they are not necessarily the roots of the modern practice. In fact, efforts to describe a history of polls predating their use by the media seem misdirected. It is less the case that polling was an existent enterprise at some point adopted by the press than one created for and by the press.

As used today by candidates, political parties, policy makers, interest groups and others, what has come to be known as public opinion polling has its beginnings in the media. Specifically, in newspaper reports of voter preference.

There is not complete consensus as to what newspaper was the first to conduct or report polls. Tankard (1972) credits the Raleigh, North Carolina Star, while others (e.g., Cantril, 1976; Gergen & Schambra, 1979) claim the Harrisburg Pennsylvanian was the innovator. All agree that the year was 1824, and the poll topic was that year's presidential election.

Explanations as to how and why these first newspapers became involved in polling are not provided in literature on the topic. Reflection suggests that editors may have recognized some innate curiosity on the part of their readers as to the feelings and opinions of others; and perhaps saw polls, in supplement to traditional journalistic methods, as a means of helping to satisfy that curiosity.

As more papers came to use polls later in the nineteenth century, profit was a clear motivator. The poll was seen as a competitive tool and began to be recognized as a means of boosting circulation (Martin, 1984).

Methodologically, the early examples of polls in the media may seem far removed from the precise sampling and analysis and slick presentation of contemporary polling. Data collection consisted of either dispatching reporters to select locations as interviewers (Fenton, 1960) or requesting that readers clip and return coupon ballots (Costello, 1976). Validity was questionable and reports tended to simply present the percent responding in a certain way.

It appears that all polling efforts in the nineteenth century involved elections, rather than issues. Samples were almost exclusively local, although some of the larger papers attempted statewide polls (Tankard, 1972), and polls by the Hearst chain were even national in scope (Robinson, 1934).

By 1900, most of the major newspapers in the country were making use of polls as a method of reporting. Although there were variations in the methods and the extent to which it was employed, the straw poll was well established by the end of the century. As a further descriptive note on the subject, it should be pointed out that all polling work was done in-house, by the papers themselves, with the separate polling firm or consultant not yet in existence.

In 1912, polling extended across media with the Farm Journal conducting and running the first magazine poll (Gallup & Rae, 1940). A presidential preference poll, this effort was not in any way unique from the already common polling done by newspapers, but led the way for other magazines to undertake polls of their own.

Probably the most cited, and most infamous, example of media polling from this historical period is that done by Literary Digest magazine. In fact, the Literary Digest's polls serve as a distinct point of transition from what is being described here as the first and second epochs in the history of polls in the media. Accordingly, the polling work of the Literary Digest will be covered in some depth here.

From 1916 through 1936, the Literary Digest conducted and published a series of national polls. Like their forerunners in the newspaper industry and the Farm Journal, these polls dealt mainly with presidential elections and candidate preference. But the Literary Digest broke new ground by running polls on issue questions as well. Literary Digest poll stories on the issues of prohibition ("Final Results," 1922) and veterans benefits ("The Final Margin," 1922), appear to mark the first attempt at the now commonplace issue related poll.

Aside from the fact that they used national samples, there is little to distinguish the basic methods of the Literary Digest polls from those of the newspapers that preceded them. At various times, the Literary Digest made use of both the clipped ballot and reporter/interviewer methods of data collection, as well as a system of surveying through the mails using packages that included brief questionnaires along with subscription and promotion materials. However, their undertakings were on a scale much larger than anything that had come before.

From the start, the emphasis of the Literary Digest's polls was on size. As a popular mass circulation magazine, their 1916 poll, asking readers to clip and return sample presidential ballots, generated a sample larger than any media poll to that point. Later, as they began to employ mail surveys, the Literary Digest sample grew to more than 2.7 million in 1928 ("Final Returns," 1928), though it should be pointed out that a total of

19 million ballots were distributed, for a response rate of less than 15 percent.

By modern standards, and to a limited extent among critics of their own period, the sampling procedures used by the Literary Digest were flawed. Their enormous sampling frames were put together mainly from telephone directories and lists of automobile owners, a group skewed heavily toward the wealthy, and tending during these years to over-represent Republicans (Gergen & Schambra, 1979).

Over the course of its 20 year venture into polling work, the Literary Digest's poll gained a visibility and reputation unlike any of its time (Boorstin, 1961), and perhaps greater than any single media polling effort since. The huge sample sizes, and large national circulation of the magazine would seem to explain this success in part.

The accuracy of the Literary Digest's polling was never very impressive. As might be expected from the samples used, results tended to overstate Republican strength when candidate polls are compared to actual voting (Lawrence, 1976). And while there is no criterion comparable to an election to consider in evaluating their issue polls, there is every reason to believe they were biased in the same direction.

Despite this consistent Republican bias, the Literary Digest polls remained popular and grew to be quite respected. In fairness, their surveys had correctly identified the winning presidential candidate every year from 1916 through 1932. And when their results were only .9 percent off final vote totals in 1932, the Literary Digest poll was credited with having "almost magical accuracy" (Gallup & Rae, 1940, p. 41).

The value of the poll was hailed by readers and by newspaper editors around the country ("Press Bouquets," 1928). Following its performance of 1932, the Literary Digest's poll was even praised by scholars, including a former chairman of the American Statistical Association, who endorsed the methodology and suggested that the government and academia undertake similar work ("Let the Government," 1932).

But in 1936, the Literary Digest's record and image collapsed. For the first time, the Digest presidential poll failed to pick the winning candidate; again overestimating the Republican vote, this time by nearly 20 percent (Costello, 1976).

For practical purposes, the first epoch in the history of media polling ended with the Literary Digest poll of 1936. What was once viewed as having magical properties was now considered a sham. Criticisms of their sampling practices, voiced only rarely over the previous 20 years, were now heard regularly ("What Went Wrong," 1936).

Historians of polling point to the 1936 experience as an inevitable outcome of improper polling methodology. Some have even suggested that the Literary Digest's demise as a publication in 1938 was due to the poll's failure in 1936 (Pool, 1980; Squire, 1988).

As fate might have it, just as the 1936 election brought the downfall of the Literary Digest poll and similar polls based on the same basic methodologies in use for over 100 years, that year's election also saw a new form of polling emerge with some gusto. Using much smaller but systematically selected samples, these new polls represent the beginning of what can be thought of as the second era or epoch in the history of polls in the media.

Before turning to the specifics and the impact of this second epoch, it may be useful to summarize what has been identified here as the first period in polling history. And before dismissing the work of the Literary Digest as a primitive fiasco, the unanimous opinion of others who have written on the history of polls, a word in their defense and brief comment on their method is offered.

A first aside regarding the Literary Digest is related less to the now familiar complaints about improper sampling than to an aspect of their first polling effort in 1916 that is curiously relevant to a contemporary theory of public opinion processes and behavior. While all polls prior to and after the Literary Digest's of 1916, including the media polls of today, ask respondents for their own feelings on a topic, that was not the case with the 1916 poll. Instead, respondents were asked their impression of the majority opinion in their own community, and how they perceived shifts in opinion since the previous election year -- "What is requested is not the individual vote of any person, but a report upon the feeling toward the parties now as compared with 1912, to the best of the reader's knowledge and observation" ("A Nation-Wide," 1916, p. 659). Ballots were run in the magazine with respondents asked to identify their city or town and state and to check the candidate they saw as leading in their community and the 1912 candidate they felt had been strongest in their community.

Although this method was abandoned after its use in 1916, it is perhaps the only example of media polling to include elements of the social science hypothesis that has come to be called the "spiral of silence" (Noelle-Neumann, 1984). It is worth pointing out here, if only in amazement, that the very first poll done by the Literary Digest was constructed using concepts that would later be included as central to the spiral of silence theory.

To address the more straightforward question of the Literary Digest's sampling procedures, there can be little argument that they were handled poorly. Critics are largely correct in scolding the use of obviously biased samples while claiming to measure opinion of the whole country. However, this critical literature is based almost entirely on hindsight. As discussed in the following section of this paper, once the next wave of polling methods became popular, it was obvious where the Literary Digest and other early polls had gone wrong. But during the years of its existence, from 1916 to 1936, there appears to be no published criticism of the poll's methods.

In fact, there seems some evidence to suggest that the Literary Digest itself was the first to publicly address concerns about sampling. Responding to unnamed critics, in 1922 the magazine admits that its sampling frame under-represents certain groups and describes a procedure undertaken to supplement the standard mail survey with separate polls of women and factory workers ("Put Over," 1922). While this was only a limited solution at best, the fact that sampling problems were recognized and treated by the Literary Digest is left out of the histories and critiques of media polling that cover this period.

The preceding remarks are not meant as an endorsement of the Literary Digest polls or a call for returning to the polling methods practiced during this first epoch in media polling. They are included only as material relevant to some current public opinion research topics and to note that although existing literature is, with much cause, overwhelmingly critical of the Literary Digest, a closer look suggests it may be a little too harsh.

Clearly, the Literary Digest did much to establish the idea of public opinion polling among those in the media and among the general audience. By the time of the dismal performance of 1936, the poll was here to stay, although its form was soon to change. What was left behind can be summarized as polling work centered for the most part around presidential elections, done in-house by various newspapers and magazines, having a rather naive fascination with large sample sizes, and little notion of polling as a form of scientific investigation. Each of these characteristics would be reversed as media polls moved to the next epoch in their history.

A MORE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

While the Literary Digest debacle of 1936 can be used to mark the point from which a second era of polls in the media began, the foundations for this second period were in place as early as 1912. In that year Roy Eastman, an advertising manager, developed a survey procedure for determining product and media usage (Boorstin, 1961). Making use of findings from the areas of psychology and statistics, and based on samples carefully selected to represent the buying public, such marketing-based studies were eagerly accepted by expanding industry in the nineteen twenties (Gallup & Rae, 1940).

By 1930, most large advertising agencies included survey research departments and in 1932 George Gallup, then with Young & Rubicam, began applying the new "scientific" method of polling to political and issue related topics (Rich, 1939). In 1933 polling was used for the first time in an election campaign, as Gallup helped his mother-in-law become Secretary of State in Iowa. By 1935, Gallup had established the American Institute of Public Opinion and the weekly Gallup Poll was syndicated nationally (Gallup, 1972). During these early years, the methods and objectives of this new type of polling were often misunderstood by the media, with even subscribing papers critical of the Gallup Poll and preferring to place their faith in the large samples of polls such as those done by the Literary Digest (Katz & Cantril, 1937; Rich, 1939).

Almost simultaneous to the beginnings of the Gallup Poll, Fortune magazine and the King Features newspaper service began polling work using systematically selected samples. Both drew on the methodologies developed in marketing studies and both were overseen by former advertising practitioners (Costello, 1976).

Conducted by Elmo Roper and Paul Cherington, the first Fortune Quarterly Poll appeared in 1935 under the headline "A New Technique in Journalism." The magazine ran an article explaining the techniques used in the poll, their origins in advertising research, and superiority over existing media polls (i.e., the Literary Digest). Topics for this first poll report included the issues of smoking, taxes, and utility companies ("A New Technique," 1935).

Independent of Gallup and the Fortune efforts, King Features began carrying its own poll in 1935. Run by Archibald Crossley, a former director of the Literary Digest poll, it too used smaller, purposefully selected samples (Lawrence, 1976). And like the Gallup Poll, it was available to newspapers through syndication (Gallup, 1972).

So with the 1936 presidential election, the groundwork for what is called here the second epoch in media polls was in place with the Gallup, Fortune, and Crossley polls. Like the established Literary Digest poll, each would rely on the mails for collecting data, but these newer polls were different in two important respects; their sampling and scheduling methods.

In modern terms, the samples used by this new wave of polls can be described as quota sampling. Their purpose was to ensure that the proportion of different groups of people included in the poll was the same as their proportions in the population of the country. In the case of Gallup, quotas were based on age, race, sex, political party, income, and region (Rich, 1939). While the Literary Digest was again using what can only generously be called incidental sampling and contacting ten million respondents, these newer polls were each based on samples of approximately thirty thousand (Gallup & Rae, 1940).

The timing of these polls also differed. In twenty years of experience, the Literary Digest gave no consideration to when responses were received and simply conducted a single huge poll. To varying degrees, the Gallup, Fortune, and Crossley polls recognized that results nearer election day were most valuable and undertook a series of surveys during the 1936 campaign.

Looking back, it is clear that the 1936 election was to be a showdown between the old and new types of polls in the media. Even before any polling work was underway, George Gallup went on record as stating that the Literary Digest method would falter, even predicting what their final erroneous numbers would be (Rich, 1939). This act of seeming bravado and the outraged response of the Literary Digest were indications that only one form of polling would survive the election.

The survivor, of course, was the more scientific polling of Gallup, Fortune, and Crossley. By correctly calling the winner, and in the case of Fortune, coming within 1.7 percent of the final vote, the new polling gained in reputation as the straw poll method of the Literary Digest was criticized and fell by the way (Costello, 1976). The discrepancies of the two types of polls and the coverage given to the failure of the Literary Digest spurred a wider public interest in polling (Boorstin, 1961). As a result of the 1936 experience, the second epoch in media polling was firmly established as one based on scientifically selected samples, done not by the media themselves, but by specialized organizations with results made available largely through subscription.

The years following 1936 were a time of expansion for the new methods of polling and increasing sophistication in the conducting of polls. By 1939, the Gallup poll was carried by 64 papers around the country (Rich, 1939). Government agencies (Turner & Martin, 1984) and candidates (Gallup, 1972) took notice of the success of this modern approach and began making use of it themselves, though it remained for the most part a means of providing the media with material for data based stories.

Concern about methodology resulted in the fine tuning of polling techniques, with questionnaire construction and sampling regarded as reputable sciences (Rich, 1939). Flaws inherent in mail surveys were recognized and the major polling organizations adopted the personal interview as their chief method of data collection (Gallup, 1944). And the creation of Public Opinion Quarterly in 1937 and the American Association for Public Opinion Research in 1947 provided the polling activity with its own journal and trade group, an indication of its growth and acceptance as an enterprise.

The media polls of this period were almost exclusively external, done by those expert in the new profession and supplied to the media for a fee or released for publicity purposes. Some publications continued to run their own straw type polls, but they were definitely the minority. While the literature provides no explanation for this shift from the media as pollsters themselves to more or less passive recipients and carriers of polling information, events leading to this second epoch suggest that there may have been some fear of repeating the performance and ridicule of the Literary Digest and a naive confusion about the methods involved in the new polling.

By 1944, the media began to become more directly involved in the polling done by their suppliers, with the commissioning of "state polls" by several different newspapers (Ismach, 1984). These involved the selection of topics for study by the papers themselves, but actual conducting and analysis remained in the hands of polling organizations.

Through these first years of the second epoch in media polls, there was a trend away from using polls only for elections. Opinions on issues were measured regularly and off-year political polls began looking at candidate trial heats and approval ratings (Crespi, 1980).

Polling continued to gain in reputation and acceptance following the outcome of the 1936 election. In the 1940 and 1944 presidential elections, the major syndicated polls each performed well, picking the winner and coming within a couple of percentage points of the final outcome (Lawrence, 1976).

But in 1948, the polls were incorrect in their call of who would win the election. Although the media attention given to this error and some historical writings suggest that the failure of 1948 was a crisis of the same dimensions as the Literary Digest's in 1936, the opinion here is that it was only a minor glitch and did not alter the practice of polling or reporting on polls to the same extent as the events of 1936.

In fact, though they did miss in stating who would win, the 1948 polls were closer to actual vote totals than they had been in 1936, the election which established scientific polling as the preferred method (Lawrence, 1976). The experience surely caused some loss of confidence, but in the long run, the polls came back stronger than ever.

An enquiry by the Social Science Research Council following the 1948 election led to further improved methods. Specifically, attention was devoted to measuring strength as well as direction of opinion and to problems of sampling (Mosteller et al., 1949). What resulted were increasingly reliable survey instruments and the abandonment of quota sampling in favor of procedures based on probability theory (Lawrence, 1976).

The period labeled here as the second epoch in media polls continued through the 1950s and 1960s. Methodology continued to advance and polls became even more ingrained as an element of the media. With the advent of television, polls were adopted by still another medium, representing what Mendelsohn and Crespi have described as a "synergism of political impact" (1970, p. 8).

By the late sixties, the practice of polling and the relationship of pollsters and the media had evolved into one completely different from that of the first epoch. In what had become a lucrative and competitive industry, the Harris Poll joined the Gallup Poll as the leading syndicated polls and numerous smaller organizations were supplying the media with polling results. In 1967, the National Council on Published Polls was organized to deal specifically with the linkages between polls and the media (Gallup, 1972).

This second epoch in the history of polls in the media can be summed up as a period of approximately 30 years in which the area gained the status of a legitimate science. Sampling techniques advanced from the primitive straw method of the first epoch to the use of quota samples and finally probability samples with intricate refinements. Polls moved beyond presidential elections to become an ongoing feature of the media, regularly involving issues as well as candidate standing. And unlike the first epoch, the actual conducting of polls, and in large part the selection of topics from which poll stories would result, was done not by the media themselves but by outside polling organizations.

Within the framework used here, this epoch ended not with any major disaster such as characterized the move from the first to second epoch, but perhaps as a result of the success and standing that polling had gained with the media and in society as a whole. The third and current epoch in the history of polls and the media would represent fewer major changes in actual methodology. Instead, it is identified as a distinct period owing to a still more fervent regard for the poll as a means of reporting and a shift in the source of polling data used to generate such reports.

THE MEDIA AS POLLSTERS

It is common in historical or analytical writing on social phenomena and practices to grant one or more individuals ancestral credit. In the case of polls in the media, George Gallup is often referred to as the "father" or "patriarch" from which modern polling has descended (Wheeler, 1976).

In the scheme used here, Gallup can rightfully be assigned that role regarding the second epoch in the history of media polls. Along with Roper and Crossley, he led the way for that period characterized by first real attention to sampling methodology and the syndication of poll results to subscribing media.

But as will be described shortly, a third epoch in the use of polls by the media involves a trend away from reliance on syndicated polls and toward the creation of complete in-house polling operations by the media. Gallup and his cohorts certainly deserve credit as originators of many of the polling procedures employed in this last epoch and for helping to establish polls as a reputable and accepted element of media content. Keeping with the metaphor of parentage, though, they should probably only be identified as something like great uncles, once removed. Roughly 30 years after first work by those of Gallup's generation, direct paternal lineage for the third epoch belongs to Philip Meyer.

In the late sixties Meyer, then a journalist with Knight-Ridder, undertook a series of polls for newspapers owned by that chain (Bonafede, 1978). He had earlier become enamored with survey research and convinced of its potential as a means of reporting while on a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard (Ismach, 1984).

A result of his own experiments and experiences as a journalist-pollster, Meyer's book Precision Journalism (1973) was published as a guide for others interested in applying the principles of scientific polling to news reporting. In large part, it is this book that was the impetus for the proliferation of in-house polls that marks the third epoch in the history of polls in the media.

As remarked in the first pages of this paper, existing historical writing tends to treat polling as a single enterprise with one continuous chronology. Occasionally, 1936 will be used as a dividing point between archaic and modern practice, but the notion of a distinct third period is absent. So the inclusion of the years since Precision Journalism as a separate era in the relationship of polls and the media can be considered a unique view of the topic.

In fact, the concept of precision journalism and the name Philip Meyer are rarely, if ever, cited in literature on the history of polls in the media. Instead, there has emerged a separate literature that considers precision journalism a new genre along the same lines as interpretive and investigative reporting as modern styles of news gathering and presentation (Ismach, 1984). What is suggested here is that the genre defined as precision journalism be incorporated into historical perspectives.

An increase since the early seventies in the number and coverage of polls and in the media conducting their own polls is documented in comment (e.g., Ladd, 1980) and research (e.g., Paletz et al., 1980), yet explanations for this increase are not considered. Roper (1980) mirrors the view of those few who have even tried to account for the increase in admitting that he can't explain it. Without belaboring the point, Precision Journalism and the enthusiastic response its publication generated (e.g., Hvistendahl, 1973) is offered as an explanation and as the point of demarcation from which the third epoch grew.

Journalism and mass communication education also played a significant role in encouraging the use of in-house polling by the media. From its beginnings in departments of English and general treatment as an area of the humanities, there has been a trend in journalism education toward basing its curriculum and faculty in the social sciences (Weaver & McCombs, 1980). In 1972, a year before Precision Journalism came out, more than half of the accredited journalism schools in the country were offering courses in research methodology (Isaacs, 1972).

Meyer's book was eagerly adopted by educators, with polling procedures covered in basic news writing classes and separate courses devoted to public opinion polls becoming increasingly common (Ismach, 1984). Successful competitive texts (e.g., Hage, Dennis, Ismach, & Hartgen, 1976; Keir, McCombs, & Shaw, 1986) are evidence of the acceptance of precision journalism and polling as a core component of modern journalism education.

Aside from training future practitioners in the methods of survey research, educators were themselves involved in media polling during the first years of this third epoch. In moving beyond the carrying of syndicated polls to conducting and analyzing polls of their own, newspapers and broadcast organizations used academics as willing consultants while acquiring the expertise and personnel necessary to handle the research process entirely in-house (Rippey, 1979).

The opinion and enthusiasm of educators does not, of course, mean acceptance by the industry. And the media of this period were largely unprepared to take up polling work completely on their own. But for the most part, the idea of conducting their own polls caught on with the media. Shortcomings of knowledge and experience were typically addressed with the use of consultants and what might be thought of as the retooling of certain media personnel.

Seminars and short courses in the fundamentals of polling were organized by industry groups and taught by those in the polling and academic communities (Bonafede, 1978). Ismach credits one such seminar at Northwestern University in 1974 as being "the single most important catalyst for the news media to cross [in] the new reporting frontier," from which emerged "an enthusiastic cadre of missionaries for the new reporting style" (1984, p. 109). Comment will be withheld here as to whether any three week program could turn midcareer journalists into polling experts, but it is a fact that attendance at this or similar seminars often seem the only requirement for such titles as "poll director" among even the largest media organizations of this time.

In addition to the classroom indoctrination provided by universities and continuing education arrangements, much writing on the subject of polling has been targeted at those in the media during this third epoch. Books and articles in trade publications have addressed publishers (e.g., Wilhoit & Weaver, 1980), editors (e.g., Thorton, 1981), and reporters (e.g., Whitney, 1976; Mitofsky & Plissner, 1980; Witt, 1984) with basic "how-tos" of conducting and interpreting polls.

The eagerness of the media to get into poll work on their own and subsequent establishment of in-house polling operations is the most notable characteristic of the third epoch in the history of polls and the media. A 1978 survey of newspapers of all sizes showed 37 percent actively involved in conducting and reporting polls, with over half of that number having begun the practice since 1970 and the majority of nonpolling papers claiming they planned to undertake the practice in the future (Rippey, 1980). The three major television networks each established polling operations during this period (Sudman, 1983) and one estimate states as many as 600 news organizations were regularly conducting polls in the mid-1980s (Ismach, 1984).

At the same time, the syndicated polls have continued to thrive, resulting in exponential growth in the poll content of the media. Patterson (1980) cites the Los Angeles Times as an example, showing the number of poll reports in a single week of 1976 equalling the number run during the entire year of 1940. Others have found similar increases in the number of poll stories (Paletz et al., 1980) and evidence of polls receiving more prominent positioning in the print and broadcast media (Broh, 1983; Keenan, 1986).

Aside from the increased volume of polls and the decided popularity of in-house polling, the third epoch is characterized by certain features in the type of polls conducted and reported. In part, these are continuations of trends begun during the second epoch, and in part they are unique to contemporary practice.

As the media have become more familiar and comfortable with the use of polls, the range of topics dealt with via polling has expanded greatly. Election races and issues remain a major area but polls are now employed regularly in stories on public affairs and issues only remotely related to electoral matters (Weaver &

McCombs, 1980) and in traditional human interest features (Crespi, 1980). It is hardly an exaggeration to suggest that from the media's perspective, any and every item considered newsworthy also seems worthy of a poll, as informal monitoring of today's media will attest.

In addition to the broadened subject areas of polls, the third epoch has involved a trend toward the use of polling on a more local basis (Gollin, 1980). Rippey's study (1980) shows even the smallest media organizations conducting local polls and national poll reports are increasingly broken down by geography and other referent variables.

A final trait of the media polling of this third epoch is the reporting of trends rather than static, one-time polls (Crespi, 1980). A spokesman for the New York Times has stated explicitly that his paper views trend polls as a means to "provide benchmarks for society" (Thorton, 1981, p. 5). Whether others share his explanation or not, most have adopted the practice of tracking opinion over time.

An inclusive summary of the times described here as a third epoch in the history of polls and the media is probably premature. Unlike the first and second epochs, this third epoch remains dynamic. The trends and features which characterize it continue to thrive and any predictions of changes or events which might bring about still a fourth epoch would call for prognostication beyond the stated intentions of this review to provide a description of the media's use of polls past and present.

Polling methodology continues to advance, through the efforts of academics and polling professionals, and more than ever before those in the media. The acceptance of polls as a method of reporting first documented by Rippey's 1978 study seems even stronger today, as indicated in two more recent surveys of media decision makers (Lo, 1985; Demers, 1987).

To recap briefly, the contemporary era in media polling seems to have its origins with the publication of Philip Meyer's Precision Journalism. Meyer's suggestions for in-house use of methodology previously supplied by external sources have been embraced by educators and practitioners. Discussion, instruction, and writing on the use of polling has continued since the first edition of Precision Journalism and a recent volume in the Sage CommText series is devoted entirely to the subject (Demers & Nichols, 1988). All indications would seem to suggest that the immediate future will see poll coverage continuing to grow.

The consequences of this third epoch are evident in the content of today's media. Syndicated and commissioned polls maintain the acceptance they achieved during the second epoch and have been joined by stories based on polling work done by the media themselves. The result has been a near geometric increase in the number of poll reports carried by the print and broadcast media.

Polls have become pervasive, employed for covering issues and topics far beyond the elections of their first usage. They are now used to report local and even neighborhood opinion as well as national samples. Individual polling stories increasingly feature several polls conducted over time, providing trends rather than stagnant one-shot data. And with their new abilities as pollsters, the media have come to allot more time or space and enhanced positioning to those pieces that make use of polling.

A FINAL NOTE

Over a century and a half after the first appearance of straw polls, the relationship of polling and the media has grown to be an established institution. Along the way the concepts and methods involved have been borrowed and refined by those outside the media, in most cases further strengthening the practice and the stature of polls as a legitimate element of content.

It is useful to consider each of the periods described here. In the manner of much historical, there appears to be a certain recycling of trends. Just as the first epoch was characterized by the media themselves conducting the polls reported, so is the current epoch a return to that process, after a time when most all polling was done by those outside the media. Also interesting is that the method and logic of earliest straw polls seem to have a new found popularity. Though denounced by adherents of scientific polling ("ARF Position Paper", 1987), a new type of media poll asks respondents to dial an "800" or "900" telephone number. The similarities between these and the clipped coupon polls of the first epoch are obvious. In the case of polls and the media, then, the phrase "plus ca change..." -- the more things change, the more they stay the same -- may be more than a cliche.

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Who Said Lee de Forest Was the "Father of Radio"?

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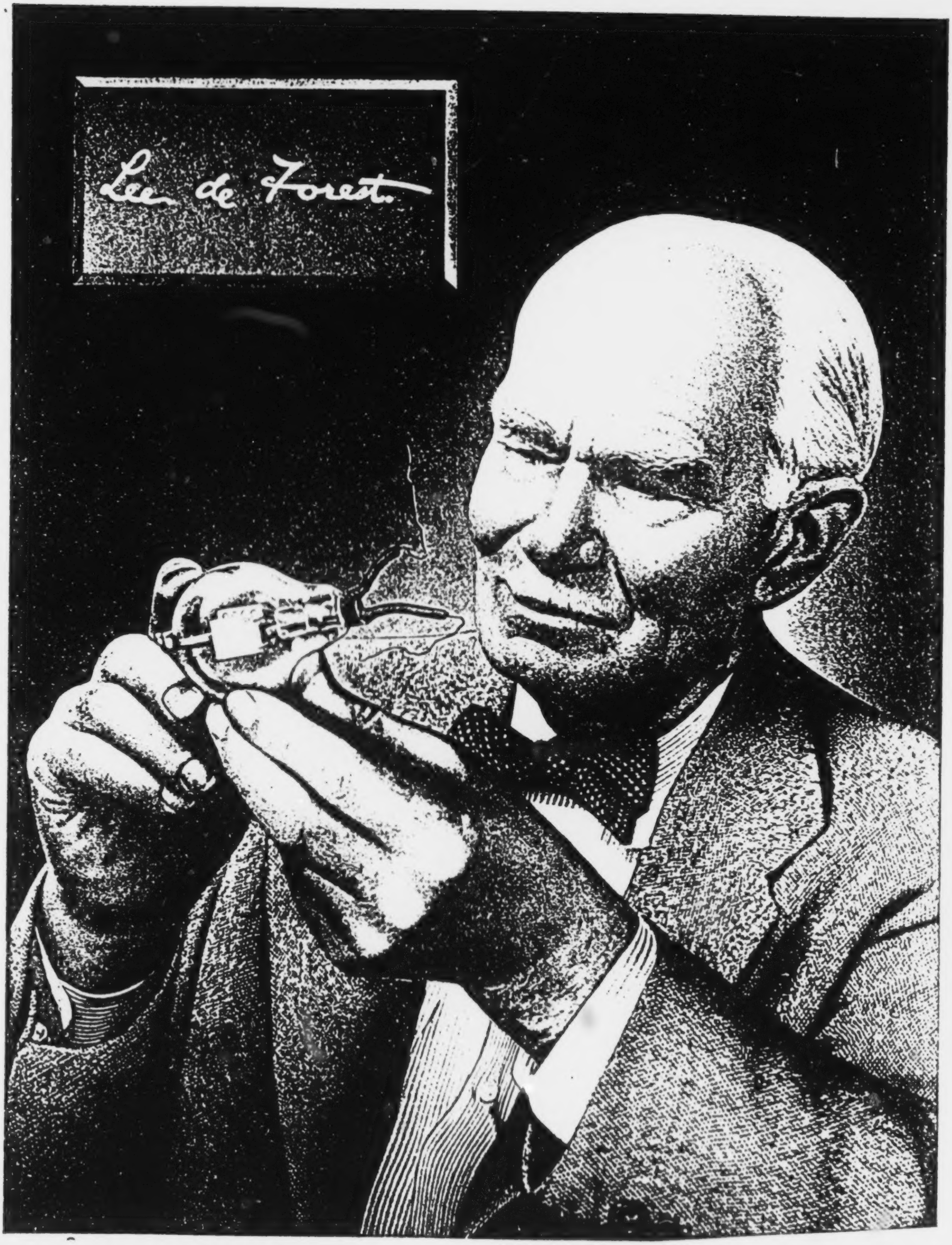
Abstract

Who said Lee de Forest was the "Father of Radio"? Lee de Forest did—many times—himself. *The New York Times* did upon the occasion of his death in 1961 *Popular Electronics* magazine did three months later. But what evidence is there that this sobriquet so readily awarded on death was actually earned during de Forest's long, up-and-down life? Can the title of creator ever be awarded to a single person for such a complex device which required so many integrated components to transmit, detect, and amplify signals?


Lee de Forest.

Who said Lee de Forest was the "Father of Radio"?

Lee de Forest did—many times—when he spoke in public or wrote in private.[1] The *New York Times* did upon the occasion of de Forest's death in 1961.[2] The front-page, UPI-story detailed the accomplishments of the 87-year-old inventor "who was known as the Father of Radio." Three months later, so did *Popular Electronics* magazine. The self-proclaimed "World's Largest Selling Electronics Magazine with 357,000 Subscribers" honored de Forest's death with a full-page photo and a brief story which reminded its readers that de Forest had become the "Father of Radio" by adding a third element to the Fleming Valve in 1906.[3]

What evidence is there that this sobriquet so readily awarded on death was actually earned during de Forest's long, up-and-down life? Can the title of creator for such a complex device that required a score of integrated components to transmit, detect, and amplify signals ever be awarded to a single person? Why were the media so willing to accept his claim?

This paper will examine de Forest's five-decades-long campaign for the title "Father of Radio" in his private correspondence and on the pages of America's publications. It will conclude that the recognition of de Forest's paternity by America's leading high-brow newspaper and largest amateur electronics publication speaks as much to his historic appeal to the editors and readers of these publications as to the strength of his claims.

The Invention of the Audion Tube

De Forest was a seat-of-the-pants inventor, a word-of-mouth promoter, and a no-head-for-figures businessman. His interest in wireless telegraphy, which was to develop into early radio, stemmed from his research on Hertz's electromagnetic waves, which de Forest undertook for his 1899 Ph.D. dissertation at Yale University. In 1906, inspired by Edison's observations of the black deposits within carbon filament bulbs (which Nicholas Tesla had concluded might lead to a method for transmitting radio waves), de Forest transformed an electron tube developed by Sir Ambrose Fleming into a radio amplifier. First, de Forest added a battery in circuit with Fleming's filament and plate and then he "triggered" this assemblage with a "grid," a zigzag piece of aluminum wire. The result was a three-electrode, thermionic vacuum tube,[4] a detector of radio waves, like Fleming's, but after additional improvements by Edwin Armstrong, a generator and amplifier of radio waves as well.[5] Years later, this "Audion Tube" was to be called one of the world's 20 great inventions.[6]

Before 1913, few people, including perhaps the inventor himself, recognized the Audion Tube's full worth. The Audion could detect signals and strengthen them, but only slightly. Radio reception was limited to a relatively short distance and to the use of headphones. Moreover, De Forest's understanding of his own invention was clouded by his need to differentiate his discovery from the work of Fleming upon which it was based. Since his experiments employed two electrodes spanned by a Bunsen-flame, de Forest incorrectly argued for years that the Audion worked because a heated gaseous medium passed a direct current.[7]

That explanation did not satisfy an undergraduate student at Columbia University, Edwin Armstrong. In 1912, Armstrong discovered that alternating, and not direct, current was being produced. The difference was significant because an alternating current could be tuned; a direct current could not. Armstrong placed a tuning coil on the Audion's output circuit, the plate to headphone one, and achieved a remarkable breakthrough: distant signals came booming into his set. Modern radio was born.[8]

Since patenting the Audion in 1906, de Forest had concentrated on business matters. His American de Forest Wireless Telegraph, established in 1902 to compete with Marconi in the emerging field of wireless telegraphy, lost the first of what he liked to call his "four fortunes." In 1907, his business partner ransacked a second venture. The same year, de Forest formed yet a third company, the De Forest Radio Telephone Company. For the next seven years he installed several marine-oriented radio stations across the United States. He faced two major obstacles: building reliability into his systems and convincing a skeptical public about the feasibility of his device. De Forest was never able to overcome this first problem, which, in part, led to the insolvency of his company in 1912, but de Forest was able to convince some people about the possibilities for his new radio. He commandeered considerable press attention in a series of public stunts which included broadcasting opera from the Eiffel Tower in 1908, broadcasting Enrico Caruso from the New York Metropolitan in 1910, and broadcasting his mother-in-law's speech on women's suffrage in the same year.

High-Brow Subject Matter

De Forest's pre-turn-of-the century childhood as the son of a white college president at an all-black Alabama college rooted him in an out-of-the-mainstream tradition. Ironically, de Forest's adopted child, radio, helped spread a mainstream mass culture antithetical to his own upbringing. But de Forest always remained loyal to his own beliefs. In broadcasting, as in his personal life, he constantly chose high-brow subject matter which suited his personal tastes for classical music and grandiloquent, romantic notions.

For example, writing in his 1950 autobiography about his mother's death many years before, de Forest broached the subject of his own demise.

> The sweetness of her character, the devotional peace which crowned her later years, is to me perfectly typified by the "Largo" of Dvorak's Symphony from the New World. I never hear the softly harmonious loveliness of that sublime music without picturing in memory the sainted presence of my mother, her loving tenderness. Never was a character so exquisitely portrayed as here. The brush of the artist falls in futility before the spell of such perfection of sound portraiture. When comes the hour of my funeral I ask only that over the wide expanses of ether may be broadcast, as Radio's service of farewell, the wild grandeurs and the soothing solace of that my best -loved symphony.[9]

De Forest was keenly aware of establishing precedent every time he took to the airwaves. Accordingly, his high-brow radio selections were calculated to establish what he thought to be proper standards. In 1916 de Forest began transmission of what he later claimed was the first "sponsored radio program service."[10] He worked out a deal with the Columbia Gramophone people to play their records in exchange for announcements about their company. He also sold his own radio tubes to amateurs, an arrangement which was allowed under terms of his Audion Tube patent sale to AT&T in 1914. Ironically, de Forest in his later life, when his creative skills and financial resources were depleted, discovered that he could still command headlines by attacking the commercialization of radio.

Criticism of Commercialization of Radio

In 1930, pushed out of the public eye by the rapid development of commercial radio during the 1920s and occupied with his research on sound in movies, the 57-year-old de Forest leaped back into view soon after he was elected President of the Institute of Radio Engineers. In his inaugural address, de Forest lashed out against what he called "the insistent ballyhoo of sales talk [on radio], which now viciously interrupts 70% of entertainment programs." He predicted this would soon lead to a large loss of listeners and huge decline in ad revenues. He urged the engineers to regain control of their creation from the "manufacturers and outside businessmen" who had taken it away from them.[11] These remarks were certainly a departure for de Forest because, up until then, he had publicly supported the way radio was developing.

For example, in 1927 he had reacted strongly to H.G. Wells' essay in the *New York Times* which predicted "a very trivial future" for radio.[12] De Forest rushed to radio's defense with a three-page paean.

> Radio has kept the wanderer home at nights, it has brightened the gloom of separation and shortened the long hours of lonliness (sic). It is a comforting companion to the shut-in; it soothes the pain of the suffering. It brings counsel to the housewife, information to the farmer, entertainment and gaiety to the young. On silent wings it flies to the forgotten corners where mails are uncertain and few, where the cheer of kindly voices comes only through the head-phones, where music is never heard save that to which the Aeolian harp of the antenna vibrates.[13]

Writing in a 1930 book on the future of radio, de Forest again praised radio, "Today millions of listeners are receiving not only the finest opera, but also no end of entertainment and enlightenment in a constant variety such as King Solomon himself could not have demanded. Twenty years ago our annual radio trade was little over $1,000,000. Today, I am told, the annual radio trade aggregates well over $600,000,000."[14] In a 1930, authorized biography by Georgette Carneal, criticism by de Forest of the radio industry was confined to a brief paragraph in the last chapter. By contrast, de Forest's autobiography of 1950 devoted a full chapter entitled "A Parent's Disappointment" to criticizing radio advertising. De Forest also appeared several times on the CBS and NBC networks to talk about the early days of radio. After his comments on the commercialization of radio, he would be absent from the airwaves for a long time.

Newspapers Print de Forest's Point of View

But his words and picture began to appear with amazing regularity in the pages of newspapers in the first bleak days of the Great Depression. Newspapers were eager to quote anyone who would chastise radio, the print world's upstart contender for the dwindling ad dollar. Lee de Forest was perfect: a silver-haired, silver-tongued radio pioneer who was eager to talk. De Forest's plan for the new medium was relatively simple: encourage radio set manufacturers such as Atwater-Kent, Stromberg Carlson, Philco and Majestic to purchase blocks of time on the radio networks during prime evening hours, then run only "good" music shows interspersed with a few tasteful commercials.

De Forest proposed just such a plan to George Scoville, Vice President of Stromberg Carlson. Referring to a downswing in radio set sales, de Forest began by asking a rhetorical question.

> Why should any one want to buy a radio, or new tubes for an old set when nine-tenths of what one can hear is the continual drivel of second-rate jazz, sickening crooning by degenerate "Sax" players (original or "transcripted"), interlared (sic) with blatant sales talk, meaningless but maddening "station announcements"-impudent

> commands to buy or try, actually superposed (sic) over a background of what might have been good music?[15]

De Forest then warned Scoville that the Federal Radio Commission or Congress would step in to clean up the industry unless someone did something. It would cost the manufacturing industry about $25,000 a day, de Forest estimated, a small price to pay because "the entire American press will joyfully spread the good news" leading the public to buy sets again.[16]

Newspapers were indeed quite willing to spread news about radio, especially if it concerned the commercialization of the medium. *The New York Times*, for instance, deemed it newsworthy to run two more stories during de Forest's IRE term even though both were merely rehashes of his inaugural address. In August, *The Times* reported his views on the "radio menace steadily growing greater, more ruthless, more deserving of suspicion and more generally detested." [17] Another article in the same issue included de Forest's effusive praise for newspapers.

> Radio's debt to the newspaper for daily radio programs, notices, program reviews and for their radio sections is beyond all computations. Unquestionably it was this astonishing interest on the part of the press to broadcasting during the early struggling days ten years ago, which alone enabled it to survive those crucial years until an awakened popular interest made radio self supporting. I sincerely feel therefore that the debt today lies heavily on radio's side of the ledger. [18]

And, for any casual readers who had failed to get the message, *The Times* ran a 2-column by 5-inch stand-alone picture of de Forest at the bottom of the page.

Five months later, *The Times* once again reported the IRE President's view of radio. The occasion was de Forest's farewell address which was delivered by an associate since Lee was away in Hollywood working on his new movie sound system. *The Times* did not allow his absence to dampen its coverage. The headlines told the story: A 24-point head began, "De Forest Assails 'Ballyhoo' on Radio." A smaller head continued, "70 percent of entertainment is viciously interrupted by sales talk, he says." Finally, in a different typestyle, it summed up, "Unless evil is ended, industry faces disaster, retiring head tells Radio Engineers."[19]

Later that same year, *The Times* once again addressed the "problem" of advertising on radio, this time in the form of an editorial. It began by stating that a large number of people sympathized with Lee de Forest who had rhetorically asked why anyone should want to buy a radio set. *The Times* then detailed his litany of complaints against degenerate "Sax" players and the like, just as de Forest had done in his letter to George Scoville a year-and-a half earlier[20]

De Forest was encouraged by the amount of ink his comments received. Writing to the editor of *Electronics Magazine* in 1931, he said:

> I am delighted some newspapers are taking up the cudgels in efforts to reduce the wholesale use of radio for advertising. While these efforts are, of course, prompted by self interest, all friends of "Radio for the Public" should take advantage of this attitude on the part of the press. Nothing will bring the broadcaster to a sense of his responsibility to the public and to the menace which unbridled advertising has to the future of radio than these repeated criticisms of the press.[21]

People did rally around de Forest's exhortations for an end to radio's commercial excesses. For example, James Rorty, a former ad copywriter, fashioned a new career by bashing advertising. He began the chapter on radio ads in his best-selling 1934 book, *Our Master's Voice: Advertising*, by once again quoting de Forest's rhetorical question why should anyone buy a radio.[22] He then described what radio listening was like for him.

> . . . the bedlamite exhortations and ecstacies, the moronic coquetries and wise-cracks, the degenerate jazz rhythms, punctuated by the ironic blats and squeals of a demon from the outer void known as "Static." An evening spent twiddling the dials of a radio set is indeed a profoundly educational experience for any student of the culture. America is too big to see itself. But Radio has enabled America to hear itself. [23]

De Forest's Reasons for Attacking Radio

De Forest had several reasons for attacking radio in the early 1930s. First, radio had grown from a crystal-set hobby to a multi-tube, commercial craze. One author suggests that 1928 was the year the radio industry solved enough of its problems of equipment, audiences, sponsorship and programming to assume the characteristics of an advertising medium.[24] Another depicts the years between 1922 and 1927 as witnessing the change in receivers from battery operated sets built with a complex assortment of components from numerous manufacturers to receivers largely standardized in construction and price. Broadcasting had emerged "from a public novelty to an indispensable utility."[25] This new commercial medium required mass audiences to support the advertisers who paid the bills. What little remained of de Forest's early broadcasting ideals were crushed under the weight of this new popular radio culture.

By 1930, most of the pieces for radio's commercial future were in place. Advertising reigned supreme, but not unchallenged. Opponents were encouraged by a series of Federal Radio Commission decisions which seemed to indicate a more vigorous stance for this regulatory body. In 1930, for example, the Commission finally mustered the resolve to rescind the license of drug peddler and goat-gland salesman Dr. John Brinkley, of KFKB in Milford, Kansas.Only the year before KFKB had been voted the most popular station in the U.S.[26] In the same year, educational stations, whose ranks had been thinning since a series of frequency reallocations in the late 1920s, finally organized a national lobbying group to protect their rights. These moves emboldened radio's critics.

De Forest's decision to slam radio in 1930 was also undoubtedly influenced by his long history of bad faith deals, bitter patent fights and drawn-out lawsuits with the very same corporations who were commercializing radio. De Forest's complaints about the perfidy of big business started in 1913 when he claimed an AT&T attorney misrepresented himself so he could purchase rights to the Audion Tube for a mere $50,000. De Forest claimed the company was actually willing to pay 10 times that amount.[27] Two years later, from a booth at the Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, de Forest ridiculed the nearby AT&T exhibit with a large hand-lettered sign setting the record straight as to whose Audion Tube was responsible for establishing the recently connected transcontinental telephone service.[28]

In 1930 de Forest's was involved in three lawsuits with commercial broadcasters. The first attacked General Electric's claims that its introduction of a superior vacuum tube for de Forest's original Audion Tube constituted a new invention and thus was patentable for an additional period of time. GE had been hassling tube manufacturers, including de Forest to desist from infringing on its patents. In May, 1931 the Supreme Court ruled the new processes were only refinements and thus could not be patented.

A second case involved the demise of de Forest's radio equipment manufacturing company which had gone bankrupt in 1925. In 1930 the company receiver argued successfully that one of the reasons for its failure was the so-called RCA "tube grab clause," which required the payment of a 7.5% royalty to the broadcasting giant. By prevailing over RCA with a charge of monopolistic practices, de Forest's case forced the Federal Radio Commission to decide whether to take away RCA's radio licenses because of monopolistic activities. The Commission eventually voted 3-2 in RCA's favor.[29]

Finally, de Forest was involved in a 19-year struggle with Edwin Armstrong over the "feedback" circuit which channeled signals repeatedly back through the Audion Tube to strengthen them. As *News-Week* magazine pointed out, the epic case, which was twice heard before the Supreme Court, "involved no royalties or accountings of profits . . . since both parties had sold their patent rights years ago"[30] The recipients of these rights were, of course, the large radio corporations.[31] In the end, de Forest prevailed in the courts, but not in the field of peer opinion. Most scientists credit Armstrong for developing the regenerative or "feedback" circuit.[32]

Saw Radio in Broader Context

De Forest saw radio in a broader context than most people. For him, radio was an amateur hunched over a crystal set tuning the cat's whisker, an engineer tinkering with a new tube, a ham operator listening to a distant land, an orchestra tuning up for a network broadcast, a crewman on a storm-tossed sea searching the ether for some companionship, an electrode-clad patient receiving short wave treatment for sinusitis. In his mind, these were his constituents, the people whose "rights to radio" he vowed to protect from the abuses of the medium's exploiters. In selling his patents, de Forest often insisted on reserving certain rights so he could continue selling the invention to amateurs or develop some process that the purchasing party might consider worthless at the moment. Inevitably, such clauses brought both parties back to the bargaining table or law courts to figure out the original contract's exact meaning in light of new developments.

De Forest was not against giant corporations, per se. In fact, he thought the salvation of radio broadcasting might lie in just such large concerns. For example, he proposed to Chief Radio Commissioner Ira Robinson that more 50,000 watt stations be permitted because only the large organizations, which could afford these super stations, "could be brought to realize the importance of maintaining program values worthy of confidence which the Federal Commission has shown in them and in their ability and willingness to properly serve the Radio Public."[33] On another occasion, de Forest upped the ante by speculating that only a very small number of 100,000 watt stations would be needed "to spread a mantle of good music" over the U.S.[34] The Radio Commissioner responded by agreeing with de Forest's assessment of the quality of radio programs. "Things are so bad that I don't listen to the radio except when I know in advance that a program is coming free from auctioneering," he said.[35]

In 1934 Congress passed another communication law and delegated the task of figuring out what to do with radio to the newly created seven-man Federal Communications Commission. Hearings were held, broadcasters argued for the status quo, critics railed against the present system, several of them quoted de Forest, but in the end nothing happened. [36] Many newspapers had made their peace with radio by either buying their own stations or by bludgeoning radio's burgeoning news services into submission. In 1936 Lee de Forest filed for bankruptcy, listing liabilities of $400,000 and assets of $390.[37] Except for World War II, de Forest might have faded into obscurity.

Post World War II Developments

The electronic marvels developed during World War II—radar, guided missiles, walkie-talkies—filled the public's mind with the wonders of the electron tube. Lee de Forest's star shone in the public firmament once again. An article in the June, 1945 issue of *Argosy* Magazine detailed the struggles of the man who had saved the nation with his vacuum tube. It teased the reader with this subhead: "Arrested as a fraud, scoffed at by his friends, often destitute, Lee de Forest still kept his faith in the 'gadget' that made radio — and now radar —possible."[38] In another case, a reader to the *Los Angeles Times* was so angry that the Armed Forces Day celebrations had not included a tribute to de Forest that she wrote the editor to complain. "How could our armed forces defend our country without the use of the weapons which his key invention of the electron tube made possible? There would be no atom bomb, no radar, none of the potent new guided missiles, no aircraft guiding beams, no communication by radio."[39]

For several of these giddy post-war years de Forest tinkered with the idea of elevating his title to "Father of the Electronic Age." The Veteran Wireless Operator's Association so declared de Forest in the pages of their 1947 annual yearbook upon the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of his Audion Tube patent. Luminaries from the Federal Communication Commission, Navy, and radio industry attested to his place in the dawning electronic world. The Chairman of the FCC, Charles Denny, wrote, "The transition from wireless to electronics is an appropriate and timely testimonial to one who has contributed so much to the development of Radio."[40] Francis Colt De Wolf from the State Department chimed in: "On the occasion of his designation as 'Father of the Electronic Age' I wish to offer my congratulations and an expression of admiration for the enormous contribution which he has made in the service of humanity in the field of electronics."[41]

De Forest tried to live up to his new name. He broadened his vision beyond radio to embrace the myriad wonders of the new era. For the next decade he assayed the riches of this new world in numerous articles in popular magazines. These ranged from a series on television and motion pictures in *Hollywood Reporter* magazine[42] to "The Coming Miracles of Science" which alerted readers of *Family Weekly* what to expect for health, home, climate and space exploration in the future.[43]

But radio retained its primogeniture in de Forest's esteem, subject to both the praise and wrath of its father. Commercial radio emerged from World War II in a strengthened position. Dollars flowed to it during the conflict when restricted paper supplies had curtailed newspaper size and generous tax breaks had encouraged advertising. The release of the so-called "Blue Book" by the FCC in 1946 signaled possible dark days ahead for the industry. This document, named after the color of its cover, detailed numerous instances of excessive advertising on local stations and called upon the FCC to scrutinize past programming in future renewal applications.[44]

A Father Mourns His Child

In 1946 the National Association of Broadcasters met in Chicago for the first time after the release of the Blue Book. *Newsweek* called it "the most important convention in the group's 24-year history."[45] Lee de Forest was present in spirit to greet them. He wrote a letter that the *Chicago Tribune* printed in its letters-to-the-editor column. It was entitled "A Father Mourns His Child."

> What have you gentlemen done with my child? He was conceived as a potent instrumentality for culture, fine music, the uplifting of America's mass intelligence. You have debased this child, you have sent him out in the streets in rags of ragtime, tatters of jive and boogie music, to collect money from all and sundry for hubba bubba and audio jitterbug. You have made of him a laughing stock of intelligence, surely a stench in the nostrils of the gods of the ionosphere; you have cut time into tiny cubelets, called "spots" (more rightly stains), wherewith the occasional fine program is periodically smeared with impudent insistences to buy or try.
>
> Yet, withal, I am still proud of my child. Here and there from every station come each day some brief flashes worth the hearing, some symphony, some intelligent debate, some playlet worth the wattage. The average mind is slowly broadening, and despite all the debasement of most of radio's offerings, our music tastes are slowly advancing.

> Some day the program director will attain the intelligent skill of the engineers who erected his towers and built the marvel which he now so ineptly uses. [46]

De Forest's letter was lost in the coverage of the convention itself, highlighted by CBS Chairman William Paley's stern warning against the "high percentage of advertising material which is irritating, offensive and in bad taste."[47] So de Forest re-released his letter two months later to coincide with the ceremonies surrounding the 40-year anniversary of his Audion Tube. This time, the results were more to his liking even though they scarcely measured up to the halcyon publicity days of the early 1930s.

The New York Times ran a story in January, 1947 Its headline read "De Forest Scoffs at American Programs." It continued, "Father of Radio Wonders If Our Simian Ancestors Knew What was to Come."[48] The *New Republic* also ran a brief two-paragraph story entitled "Unhappy Parent." [49] But that was about all.

New accomplishments lay ahead. De Forest published his autobiography, *Father of Radio*, in 1950. Many reviewers praised the septuagenarian's work, several expressed surprise that a turn-of-the-century inventor was still around to tell such an intriguing story. At least one, however, focused on de Forest's penchant for publicity. "Somewhere there's a thought if a man does not blow his own horn, no one else will blow it for him. And Lee de Forest has for the last half century been a living exponent of this bit of philosophy . . . Dr. de Forest's complete lack of modesty at times irks the reader."[50]

Yet de Forest's autobiography was replete with fond memories of the fellow inventors and radio executives with whom he had battled over the years. RCA and AT&T (the "commercializer" of radio via NBC, the other, the "chiseler" of his Audion patent rights) were now leaders of "this new era of peaceful development."[51] The radio industry responded in kind to the man who had so often antagonized it in the past. In 1952, de forest was honored on the forty-fifth anniversary of his Audion Tube and fiftieth year of his career in electronics. Among the celebrations that year was a dinner at the Waldorf Astoria's Starlight Ballroom filled to capacity with the likes of ex-President Herbert

Hoover, Navy Fleet Admiral William Halsey and even self-described "old friend" David Sarnoff, head of RCA.[52] Hoover, who had regulated radio as Secretary of Commerce during its formative years in the 1920s, declared in his keynote address that the honoree should henceforth rank among the world's five greatest inventors: Faraday, Edison, Morse, Bell and now de Forest.[53]

Acclaim Provides Some Vindication

Such acclaim provided some vindication for a man who had striven so long for fame. After a lifetime of personal and business bankruptcies, after years of craving recognition for ideas brought to financial success by others, after countless letters and speeches attacking the commercialism of radio, De Forest was left with little else. By the 1950s de Forest had been reduced to peddling short wave radio surgery instruments and selling his services to trade schools. In the early 1950s he worked at two radio schools in the Chicago area directing the training of veterans.[54] Later his discerning, halftoned countenance gazed out over the ad campaign for Heald College of Technology in San Francisco which added to his list of titles by declaring him "Grandfather of Television."[55] When he died in 1961 de Forest left an estate worth $1250.[56]

De Forest had battled a lifetime to become, in many people's eyes, the "Father of Radio." He had already penned his epitaph a decade earlier. In the closing words of his autobiography, he wrote, "In spite of circumstances, always most unfavorable, I hewed out the way I had mapped for myself—against poverty, despite adversity, cynical skepticism, and endless discouragement, and without adequate tools, financial or other. . . But I had the vision, inner faith in myself, the inflexible resolve, the all-so-necessary courage."[57]

Reasons for his success

Forgotten in the tributes at de Forest's death were the inventors and scientists who had contributed to radio's development: men like Heinrich Hertz (1857-1894), who first created, detected and measured electromagnetic waves or Guglielmo Marconi (1874-1937), the first to develop wireless telegraphy using these waves or Nikola Tesla (1856-1943), whose biographer credits as father of both wireless and radio.[58]

Others deserve mention. Sir Ambrose Fleming (1849-1945) invented the first electron tube to detect radio waves. He went to his deathbed certain that de Forest's Audion Tube was merely a modification of his own.[59] Reginald Fessenden (1866-1932) was the first to send radio voice transmissions on modulated waves superimposed over continuous waves. His wireless company frequently fought de Forest's in the marketplace and law courts. Edwin Armstrong (1890-1954) developed the regenerative circuit which allowed the Audion tube to amplify and transmit radio waves and, most importantly, made commercial broadcasting possible. He and de Forest wrangled over the rights to the discovery in a long legal battle.

Although these people contributed much to the development of radio, none were able to, or preferred to, match de Forest's enthusiasm, stamina or elegance in pursuing the title. Among de Forest's strengths were his extraordinary energy for self-promotion and his singled-minded vision of what he hoped to accomplish. His perspicacity was essential since radio was developed by a system which pitted the fiscal and emotional frailty of individual creativity against the inertial strength of corporate economics and research. The single voice had to be persistent indeed to be heard above the din of corporate ballyhoo.

Here was a man who fit the popular mold of the crusty inventor: an outspoken seer single-handedly battling misfortune and corporate greed to develop a wondrous new "Aeolian Harp" for the public's enjoyment. Overlooked were his bankruptcies, his wrenching trial for fraud, his faulty explanations of his discoveries, his haggling in the law courts, his failed marriages, his singled-minded devotion to advancing his claims. De

Forest's pluck always pulled him through hard times. In a perverse way, his many misfortunes only strengthened his position in the public market place: human nature often concedes more to the underdog. *The New York Times* obituary summed up de Forest's public appeal: "He was a great dreamer, a poet, an advocate of uplifting the masses. . .the last of the individual inventors."[60]

De Forest had other assets. He was an American. Marconi and Fleming were poor candidates in the U.S simply because of their English connections. Tesla was an American, but not by birth. The radio business, as the post-Word-War-I maneuverings surrounding the creation of RCA attest, was very nationalistic. De Forest was eager to speak out and defend his views. He was a perceptive writer. Ill-tempered Fessenden turned to Christian archaeology and never produced any memoirs chronicling his accomplishments.[61] De Forest lived to be 87. Hertz died young; Armstrong would take his own life. All the rest, except de Forest and Armstrong (and he was engrossed in developing FM radio), were gone by the end of World War II when the dawning of the electronic age rekindled interest in the radio age which had preceded it.

But one reason stands out above all the rest. *Lee de Forest became the "Father of Radio" because he spent five decades campaigning for the title before a press which was all too willing to grant him the honor.*

Affixing labels to issues, movements or individuals is a journalistic practice of long standing. It saves time and energy; it reduces complex matters to manageable sizes. As others have pointed out, labels do "double duty" for reporters by summarizing in a word or phrase why an individual has become newsworthy and by indicating the shape of future coverage.[62] Deciding who deserves which title is subject to few rules beyond the exercise of sound judgment. Scientific matters are especially difficult, requiring a longitudinal synthesis of quantitative details. Often times, reporters merely shift responsibility by referring back to earlier issues of their own paper to ascertain the validity of the claim.

If this were the case for the reporter assigned Lee de Forest's death, he would have found scant mention of the inventor's perceived parentage prior to World War II. In the years of the early depression, *The New York Times* referred to him either as the "inventor of the vacuum tube" (a label which must have vexed Edison, Fleming,Tesla and Langmuir, among others) or more euphemistically as the inventor of the "modern Aladdin's Lamp."[63] By the post-World War II period de Forest had achieved a new status. *The Times* now routinely referred to him as the "Father of Radio."[64] However, the newspaper did not readily accede to de Forest's quest for having sired the electronic era. Yet, within two days of his death, *The Times* rhapsodized about de Forest's place in history. The July 4, 1961, editorial said the Audion Tube was "one of the greatest single inventions of this or any other century" and made possible "satellites, interplanetary travel, the age of automation, computing machines."[65] Heady praise, indeed.

How had de Forest climbed this ladder to success? It is tempting to speculate that his trip to the top was sequential and self justifying: each rung up became easier because generations of journalists were willing to assess credit for distance already travelled. In the late 1920s de Forest's criticism of commercial, corporate radio endeared him to the newspapers and amateurs who felt threatened by the emerging medium. De Forest was the credible source of criticism they needed to substantiate their own view of radio. In the post-World War II period de Forest assumed an expanded role. He was still the critic of commercial radio, a battle obviously lost but not forgotten. He was also the convenient tie to the past which helped explain the development of war-time electronic wonders in terms more acceptable to the popular myth. At death, since de Forest had already attained the highest rung, the press propelled him into the firmament.

Alternative explanations for de Forest's success pale by comparison. He clearly was not the "Father of Radio." Six basic inventions underlie radio: the heterodyne of Fessenden, Hogan and Lee; audio amplifier of Lowenstein; four-circuit tuning device of Marconi; electron tube of Edison, Fleming and de Forest; regenerative and superheterodyne of Armstrong.[66] De Forest's Audion Tube, while a key component, was still just one of a handful of elements which made radio possible. In fact, the Audion Tube made its greatest impact on yet another device, the telephone, a matter largely ignored since AT&T always stressed its in-house research and de Forest never campaigned for the title of "Father of Trans-Continental Telephony."

De Forest was a respected member of the scientific community; his election as President of the Institute of Radio Engineers attested to that. But many of his peers questioned de Forest's grasp of the principles underlying his own inventions. The title of "Father" implies an unswerving peer admiration which de Forest lacked. For example, de Forest, apparently to differentiate his tube from Fleming's, wrongly argued for years that the Audion worked because of the passage of a direct current by a heated gaseous medium.[67] In his 19-year lawsuit with Edwin Armstrong over the "feedback" circuit which channeled signals repeatedly back through the Audion Tube to strengthen them, de Forest prevailed in the courts, but not in the field of peer opinion. Most scientists, citing Armstrong's superior knowledge, credited him with the discovery despite the court ruling.[68]

None of these concerns was reflected in the coverage of de Forest's death. His peers were gone and forgotten. His discoveries were poorly perceived; their influence inflated beyond belief. None of this was a conscious attempt to deceive. It was only the result of a news process that is repeated far too often. Radio's complex beginnings a half century earlier apparently dissuaded news people from delving into details. Certain sources—friendly ones with long media track records who fit preconceived notions—were accorded greater credibility. Convenient labels replaced trenchant analysis. Reporting was reduced to the task of affirming one man's "inflexible resolve."

Notes

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[1] Numerous examples of his private correspondence may be found in the Lee de forest Archives at the Electronics Museum on the campus of Foothill College in Los Altos Hills, California (hereafter cited as de Forest Archives). Material in the archives is stored loose in large boxes marked only by the appropriate decade.

[2] *The New York Times*, July 2, 1961, 1:2.

[3] *Popular Electronics*, September 16, 1961, p. 6.

[4] Fleming explained the derivation of these terms in his autobiography Sir Ambrose Fleming, *Memories*, p. 142. He called the tube or,"bulb," a "valve" because it allowed electrons to flow in only one direction. He added the term "thermionic" to describe the stream of small particles, now known as electrons, which were sent out from the hot surface of the filament. Fleming did not accept the term "diode" to denote the two chief components of the tube, the filament and plate, because, in his words, it was "scientific gibberish"(p. 143). His reluctance to accept this term may also stem from de Forest's insistence on describing his own invention as the "triode" tube, the extra element, of course, being the grid which de Forest added to Fleming's tube.

[5] Orrin E. Dunlap, *Radio's 100 Men of Science*, p 166. See also *New York Times*, July 4, 1961, 18:2.

[6] Dunlap, *100 Men of Science*, p. 166.

[7] This "gaseous" medium, of course, was actually electrons streaming from the heated filament. De Forest had several theories about what was happening in his Audion tube. For examples of these, see de forest Archives. 1900s Box and 1910s Box.

[8] For more on Armstrong, see Lawrence Lessing, *Man of High Fidelity: Edwin Howard Armstrong*, (New York: Bantam, 1969).

[9] Lee de Forest, *Father of Radio*, (Chicago: Wilcox and Follett, 1950), p. 400.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 337.

[11] "Inaugural Address," *Proceedings of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers*, (July 18, 1930), p. 1123. See also *New York Evening Journal*, January. 8, 1931, p. 8

[12] *The New York Times Magazine*, April 3, 1927, p. 3.

[13] Essay by Lee de Forest, marked "94.7," n.d. in Deforest Archives, 1930s Box.

[14] Lee de Forest, "The Future of Radio," *Radio and Its Future*. ed. by Martin Codel, (N.Y.: Harper & Brothers, 1930), p. 319.

[15] Letter, Lee de Forest to George Scoville, January. 21, 1931 in de Forest Archives, 1930s Box. According to Lawrence Lichty and Malachi Topping, *American Broadcasting*. (N.Y.: Hastings House, 2nd edition, 1976),. p. 521, this was only a temporary decline in the number of radios sold. By 1934 the number of sets had nearly doubled with the percent of Americans owning one increasing from 46 to 67 percent.

[16] Letter, Lee de Forest to George Scoville, January. 21, 1931 in de Forest Archives, 1930s Box.

[17] *The New York Times*, August 24, 1930, Sec. IX, 2:1.

[18] *The New York Times*, August 24, 1930, Sec. IX, 8:7.

[19] *The New York Times*, January 8, 1931, p. 19:4.

[20] *The New York Times*, November 18, 1931, 22:2.

[21] Letter, Lee de Forest to G.H. Caldwell, January 20, 1931 in de Forest Archives, 1930s Box.

[22] James Rorty, *Our Master's Voice: Advertising*. (N.Y.: John Day Company, 1934), p. 266.

[23] *Ibid*, p. 270.

[24] John Spalding, "1928: Radio Becomes A Mass Advertising Medium," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (Winter, 1963-1962), pp. 31-44.

[25] Leslie Page, Jr. "The Nature of The Broadcast Receiver and Its Market in the United States from 1922 to 1927," *Journal of Broadcasting*. Vol. IV, No. 2 (Spring, 1960), p.182.

[26] Erik Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, p. 259.

[27] De Forest's problems with business partners go back even further, to 1906, when he found himself owning an empty shell of a company which had been stripped of all assets by one of his partners.

[28] See Lee de Forest, *Father of Radio*, pp. 328-330, and Georgette Carneal, *Conqueror of Space*, pp. 268-269.

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[29] Erik Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, p. 257.

[30] *News-Week Magazine*, June 2, 1934, Vol. III, No. 22, p. 216.

[31] And these corporations were parties in the dispute. AT&T, which had invested $400,000 in direct payments for de Forest's patents and many millions more in research to develop them, was on his side. Armstrong's position was supported by the Radio Group—GE, Westinghouse and RCA—who owned his patent rights. Lawrence Lessing, *Man of High Fidelity*, p. 152 points out that AT&T had much to gain from a victory because de Forest's patents were issued in 1924, 10 years after Armstrong's. A de Forest victory in the courts, therefore, would extend AT&T's patents to 1941, allowing it many more years to collect royalties. Lessing argues this was the reason de Forest's Audion Tube received so much credit. He intimates (but supplies little proof) that AT&T-sponsored public relations efforts pushed de Forest's claims to further the telephone company's own interests (p. 237-238).

[32] For example, see Erik Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, p. 47 or Lawrence Lessing, *Man of High Fidelity*, pp. 150-156.

[33] Letter, Lee de Forest to Ira Robinson, December 29, 1930, in de Forest Archives, 1930s Box.

[34] *The New York Times*, January 8, 1931, Sec. XIII, 15:1.

[35] Letter, Ira Robinson to Lee de Forest, January 6, 1931 in de Forest Archives, 1930s Box.

[36] Barnouw, *Golden Web*, p. 26.

[37] *The New York Times*, December 4, 1936, 28:4.

[38] Harland. Manchester, "The Gadget that Changed the World," *Argosy Magazine*. June 1945, Vol. 321, No. 2.

[39] Letter to the Editor by Jerene Claire Cline, no month, 1951 in de Forest Archives, 1950s Box.

[40] *Veteran Wireless Operators Association Yearbook, 1947*, n.p.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Reprints of articles in de Forest Archives, 1950s Box.

[43] Lee de Forest, "The Coming Miracles of Science," *Family Weekly* , January. 17, 1960, pp 10-11.

[44] Erik Barnouw, *The Golden Web*, pp. 229-236.

[45] *Newsweek*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 19, p. 66.

[46] *Chicago Tribune*, October 28, 1946.

[47] *Newsweek*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 19, p. 66.

[48] *The New York Times*, January 21, 1947, 27:4.

[49] *New Republic*, February 3, 1947, No. 116, p. 10.

[50] Book Review of *Father of Radio* in *Birmingham News*, Birmingham, Alabama, September 21, 1952. The de Forest Archives, 1950s Box also contains a number of other book reviews from around the nation.

[51] Lee de Forest, *Father of Radio*, p. 386.

[52] See Eugene Lyons, *David Sarnoff: A Biography*. (N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1966), p 199; 204.

[53] "Press Release of Remarks by Herbert Hoover" in de Forest Archives, 1950s Box.

[54] *The New York Times*, July 2, 1961, 1:2.

[55] Heald College advertisement, *San Francisco Examiner*, January 7, 1960, p. 7. David Sarnoff, Chairman of RCA, had already been proclaimed "Father of American Television" by the Television Broadcasters Association in 1944. See Lyons, *David Sarnoff: A Biography*. p 268.

[56] *The New York Times*, August 18, 1961, 6:5.

[57] Lee de Forest, *Father of Radio* , p. 466.

[58] See Margaret Cheney, *Tesla, Man out of Time*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981).

[59] For Fleming's side of this story, see his autobiography: Sir Ambrose Fleming, *Memories of a Scientific Life*. (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1934), pp. 141-147. See also Lawrence Lessing, *Man of High Fidelity: Edwin Howard Armstrong*, (New York: Bantam, 1969), p. 136. The courts ruled that deForest had infringed Fleming's valve and that Fleming would infringe deForest in using his grid. These decisions, like many other legal matters surrounding radio, delayed its development.

[60] *The New York Times*, July 2, 1961, 1:2.

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[61] Fessenden's wife did produce his biography, but it is poorly written and not very insightful. See Helen M. Fessenden, *Fessenden, Builder of Tomorrows.* (N.Y : Coward McCann, Inc., 1940). As for his legendary temper, see Orrin E. Dunlap, *Radio's 100 Men of Science*. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1967 reprint), p. 139.

[62] Herbert Strentz, News Reporters and News Sources, (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989), p. 43.

[63] The New York Times, August 24, 1930 IX, 8:7.

[64] See *The New York Times*, January 21, 1947, 27:4.

[65] The New York Times, July 4, 1961, 18:2.

[66] A seventh might be Langmuir's high vacuum tube, which the courts have ruled was only an improvement of existing technology. Hertz and Tesla also contributed their theoretical constructs to radio's development.

[67] This "gaseous" medium, of course, was actually electrons streaming from the heated filament. De Forest had several theories about what was happening in his Audion tube. For examples of these, see de forest Archives. 1900s Box and 1910s Box.

[68] See Erik Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, p. 47 or Lawrence Lessing, *Man of High Fidelity*, pp. 150-156.

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THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS IN AMERICA:

A HISTORIOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

When he began work on The Uprooted, Pulitzer-Prize winning historian Oscar Handlin planned to write a history of immigrants in America. Instead, he said he found that the history of those immigrants was American history. "To describe the course and effects of immigration," he wrote, "involved no less a task than to set down the whole history of the United States."[1]

If the immigrants' experience shaped the nation, their press reflected that experience, keeping them informed of events at home, all the while introducing them to the ins and outs of life in America. Some immigrants starved for the opportunity for free expression at home seized the chance offered in the United States, while others used the press to cling to a common vision of a homeland that no longer existed. In 1920, 1,500 foreign-language newspapers and magazines were printed in more than 33 languages in the United States. And, though foreign-language publishing was probably at its peak at that point, its history begins with German publishing in the colonies and continues today in more than 320 foreign-language publications in at least 41 languages.[2]

Yet the foreign-language press has been largely omitted from the histories of American journalism.[3] Press histories that overlook the foreign-language press not only present an incomplete picture of American press development, they also miss the contribution that segment of the press made in day-to-day affairs in cities across the country. It might be argued that incomplete histories rob American journalism history of an understanding of the contribution the foreign-language press made to the development of the nation's intellectual life and culture.[4] If Carey argues for cultural history and Nord seeks an American journalism history that continues to study the powerful institutions, both issues might be dealt with in the study of the foreign language press where issues of culture and power meet.[5]

The foreign-language press was at the core of many of the radical and labor movements that swept the country during its industrialization.[6] It played a critical role in immigrant acculturation and in preparation of the immigrant for mainstream media consumption.[7] And, for many immigrants the foreign-language press was not only the first opportunity to experience American-style free expression, it was also the first experience of a journalistic tradition of any sort. Immigrants from Finland and other of the "captive" or emergent nations never knew a press in their homeland, thus the first newspapers developed in those languages were developed in the United States.[8]

While traditional journalism history has focused on so-called "mainstream" press subjects, over the years, individual scholars from varied disciplines have taken up the issue of foreign-language, immigrant and ethnic press. Their efforts have generally focused either on individual ethnic populations or on common issues that particularly affected the foreign-language press.[9] More importantly, perhaps, where research has been done it may not be have been done by press historians. If most journalism historians have paid scant attention to the subject, sociologists, historians, bibliographers, and other scholars have been more interested.

Critics suggest that the neglect of foreign-language press by mainstream historians arises because synthesis of the existing research is challenging -- that it is difficult to grasp and incorporate its essence in their narratives of the larger picture because research is scattered by subject and method, and tends to focus on individual ethnic groups.[10] While there may be truth in those comments, there may also be other explanations.

A critical look at the historiography of American immigration suggests that there may be strong parallels between the treatment of immigrants in American history generally and the historical treatment of their presses.[11] This is particularly true when one considers that among the historians the essay deals with were several who crossed over to write some of the more noteworthy historical treatments of the foreign-language press. While substance of essay will be reviewed in more detail in the next section, but its usefulness reinforces Dicken-Garcia's call for the development of a body of critical journalism historiography.[12]

This study is a step in that process, a historiographic analysis of research dealing with the foreign-language press in the United States. It content analyzes the body of published research dealing with the foreign-language press in the United States, examining what form that research takes, where it is found, and the ramifications and possible explanations of the resultant patterns of research.

While such an effort must be largely descriptive, it becomes exploratory to the extent that it mines the historiographic context of the research by looking for connections between the type of research done, the focus of that research, and the methods used to pursue it. It may thus suggest areas open for fruitful research, both topical and methodological. The accompanying bibliography is considerably more complete than those offered in earlier studies.

The definitive history of the foreign-language press has yet to be written. Many foreign language groups that have published or continue to publish newspapers in the United States have not been studied. That does not mean, however, that there is not ample material from which to begin to build a much more complete understanding of the role of the foreign language press in many varied aspects of American journalism history.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Two studies of journalism historiography provide the bases for the historiographic content analysis of press histories. A third study, one addressing the historiography of American immigration generally, provides a broader context for considering the study's results.

The Dicken-Garcia communication history model offers a suitable foundation for a classification framework, suggesting a theoretical model for conceptualizing journalism history.[13] The model divides journalism histories into three broad categories: descriptive, explanatory and exploratory.[14] At a lower level, it identifies the focus of the research, whether process, product or producer oriented. Under each of those areas there are additional levels of delineation. For a product focus, for instance, the additional levels are form, content and distribution.[15] The model also categorizes the research by context type -- economic, social, political, or ideological.

Beyond its practical application, the Dicken-Garcia work offers support for the nature of the work undertaken by this study. The model forms part of a larger effort to encourage a critical historiography through which journalism researchers begin to rethink their approaches to their subject.

Such literature is needed, Dicken-Garcia suggests, because without it journalism historians "have failed not only to assess the ways written history has conditioned thought about the past," but "have failed to assess what the discipline has produced and what it lacks."[16] Dicken-Garcia's hope is that the suggestions "offer a basis for generating ideas for other inquiries, diverse conceptual approaches, and the development of a body of evaluative literature in the discipline."[17]

The other work that serves as a basis for the analysis is the 1985 Journalism Quarterly article by Folkerts and Lacy, which suggests a framework for a content analysis of journalism history.[18] That study looked at journalism historiography in Journalism Quarterly over the eight-year period that followed James Carey's critique of the failings of American journalism history.[19]

Making use of an admirably simple content analysis instrument, the Folkerts and Lacy study offers guidance in two areas. First, the study provides information about journalism historiography that must inform any successive work. Second, it offers a model for development of the analysis instrument for this study, both because it is the rare quantitative study of journalism historiography and because it too grew out of the Dicken-Garcia model.[20]

Critiquing the attention to foreign-language press in the American press histories, Hardt suggested that one of the reasons for its neglect might have been the press historians' unease with cultural differences.[21] A similar theme runs through the historiographical essay on the history of American immigration that provides a context for understanding and further exploration of this study's results.[22]

Though Handlin may have exaggerated in the passage which opens this paper, historian Henry B. Leonard suggests immigrants nonetheless "had an enormous impact on the American experience from the foundation of the English colonies in the seventeenth century to the present."[23] That impact was not readily recognized or analyzed by American historians because those historians were overwhelmingly amateur, white Anglo-Saxon and Protestant and scared.

> ...almost to a man, they shared the apprehensions of many of their fellow countrymen who, confronted and confused by the wrenching changes wrought by industrialization and urbanization, were coming to believe that immigrants, and especially those from southern and eastern Europe, threatened the basic values and institutions upon which the United States had been built.

Even the "progressive historians" like Frederick Jackson Turner and James Harvey Robinson accepted most of the notions of the "inferiority" of the newcomers and the notion that the answer to intolerance of immigrants was rapid Americanization.

It was only in the 1920s and 1930s, Leonard notes, that sustained scholarly interest developed in the role of the immigrants in the nation's development. The interest came from young historians, the products of distinguished universities, many themselves the children of immigrants. Using the tools learned in graduate school to pursue a growing interest in social history, they developed "the first sizable body of sophisticated scholarship in the field."[24] Their work was noteworthy both because it was based on the belief that an understanding of American history was incomplete without it, and because they based their findings on extensive archival research at home and abroad.[25] Their scholarship included studies of the immigrant press, and several of the names Leonard cites show up in the bibliography for this study -- Theodore Blegen and Carl Wittke.[26]

Leonard's account of the complicated historiography of immigration following the Second World War notes particularly that historians began to disagree on the nature of the immigrant experience and to point out that that experience varied significantly depending on the ethnic group.[27] Additionally, while the scholars involved in the first wave of immigration historians came from northern European stock, in the 1960s and 1970s the children and grandchildren of southern and eastern European immigrants were now going to graduate school and using their acquired research tools to study their own ethnic groups. Those tools included computers and growing access to American archival resources devoted to immigration -- resources that included newspaper archives.[28] Leonard also notes growing interest in American immigration on the part of Europeans historians.[29]

Historiographical shifts from intellectual to social history and from a focus on institutions to a focus on neighborhoods fed interest in immigrant topics, Leonard notes. While there are obvious overlaps between the history of American immigration and the history of the foreign language press, it becomes equally clear that journalism history has yet to develop in many of the areas or general history and immigrant history he charts in the broader development of American historiography.

This literature review cannot begin to deal with the content of the studies included in the bibliography, but several require mention. The only work to survey the U.S. immigrant press on a broad level is Park's The Immigrant Press and Its Control, published in 1922.[30] A monumental study, properly the most frequently cited work on the subject of the foreign-language press, it offers valuable insights but is clearly dated and in need of revision.

Several more recent works provide useful starting points for assessing the foreign-language press's role and function for immigrant communities. The most notable among those are Harzig and Hoerder's The Press of Labor Migrants in Europe and North America 1880s to 1930s and Marzolf's The Danish-Language Press in America.[31] Both of those works a particularly helpful because they suggest specific areas in which modern scholars should reconsider some of Park's methodological decisions. Edelman's introduction to The Dutch Language Press in America: Two Centuries of Printing, Publishing and Bookselling is valuable because it addresses the kinds of questions a scholar needs to consider when approaching the study of any foreign-language press.[32] Other works gather articles on various foreign-language press histories in the United States and bibliographic summaries of foreign-language press holdings.[33]

The questions this research addressed were developed based on the comments, critiques and expectations set forth in the works noted above. The research questions were:

*What is the nature of the body of research dealing with the foreign-language press?

In essence, this question addressed the comments by critics that there was little history for scholars to draw on for their texts.

*Do scholars' research disciplines influence the shape and character of their research? Particularly, is foreign-language press research is more likely to be undertaken by scholars whose primary research discipline is not communication?

This research question tests the assumption that scholars approaching the subject of the foreign-language press are influenced in their choices of method, design and approach by their discipline, thus attempting to determine whether it should be a concern if communication scholars are not the ones studying the subject.

*Do the scholars' geographic origins influence their research approaches?

The initial literature review suggested that Europeans scholars were active in American foreign-language press research and suggested that their research might take approaches distinct from those of American scholars.

*Does most foreign-language press research take a chronological approach to its subject? And, is foreign-language press research more likely to focus on the producers than it is to focus on processes or products?

The questions address concerns raised by Dicken-Garcia and by initial reviews of the literature covered by the study. If confirmed, they might explaining some of the difficulty textbook authors have had integrating the foreign language press into the larger history of American journalism. Dicken-Garcia notes a trend of journalism research to dissect media into isolated parts, thus, obscuring commonalities and diverting attention from media-society relationships.[34]

Foreign-language press research focused on isolated producers or chronologies of publications that are unanchored in the broader history of the media, the culture or the social group, would obscure commonalities and differences and be very difficult to synthesize than research focused on ideas or processes.

The research was undertaken with several assumptions that are best made explicit. The research assumes that foreign-language press research is an important topic for communication researchers, particularly American journalism historians. It assumes that such research is at its least useful when it takes the shape of a chronological listing and most useful when it considers its subject within the context of the time, place and experience of the immigrant group involved. There is also an underlying assumption that any field of inquiry benefits from diverse research approaches, both methodological and intellectual.

METHOD

The study offers a historiographic analysis of published articles and books dealing with the history of the foreign-language press in America. The study considers material printed in English between 1922 and 1990. Its focus is those works that deal with some aspect of foreign-language press history or operations. It does not encompass works on ethnic groups in general that refer to the press in passing.

It concentrates on materials printed in English because it is a study of American history and the foreign-language press as an American phenomenon. It is not a study of histories written in the immigrants' countries of origin. However, where foreign scholars write in English about foreign-language press in America, their efforts are legitimate material for inclusion in this study.

The cut-off dates were chosen for the sake of logic and convenience. The opening date ensures that the study incorporates the only book-length treatment of the broad subject of foreign-language press, which was written in 1922.[35] It is important that this work be included in the study since it is the most frequently cited work in the field. The 1990 closing date is chosen to ensure that all accessible materials were reviewed.

To be included in the study, articles had to be judged independent studies of the subject in question, works capable of standing alone. For instance, both the introduction and individual articles in a collection like Miller's would be considered individual works for the purpose of analysis.[36] On the other hand, two- or three-page introductions to directory listings of foreign newspaper holdings would not be automatically included unless they could stand as independent pieces of scholarship.

Each article was analyzed using a coding instrument that was developed drawing equally on the Garcia model and the Folkerts and Lacy study.[37] Simple bibliographic information was collected on each work, including: author, title, journal/book, publisher and city, year, and page length.

Initial coding categories applied to the work were: its form--book, article in a collection, journal article; the author discipline--bibliographer/librarian, communication, history, other, and unidentified; the article discipline--communication, history, law/policy, political science, sociology, other, and unidentified; and, the language of the press under study.

Additional categories included: the angle taken by the research, i.e. the label given the press by the researcher--ethnic, foreign-language, labor, immigrant, or other; the research method--quantitative or qualitative; research design--descriptive, explanatory, or exploratory.

Following the Dicken-Garcia mode, the research was also coded according to its focus. In all there were nine focus categories. There were four broad categories: producer, product, process, and audience. Under three of those broad areas there were further delineations according to the Dicken-Garcia model. Thus, a producer focus could concentrate on the institution, corporation or individual. The process focus could concentrate on ideas or procedures. And, a product focus might concentrate on form, content or distribution. Each focus question was coded "yes" or "no," and each case allowed for more than one "yes" answer.

Other categories included the time frame of the research--event, trend, or chronology, and the context of the work. The context questions also required "yes" and "no" responses and allowed for more than one "yes" response. The context questions, again following the Dicken-Garcia model, sought to identify whether the work dealt with the economic, political, social and ideological contexts of the topic.

When an item was coded as "other" and note was made of the discipline or language in question. When the data was edited new categories were added where necessary. As a result, "education" and "sociology" were added under author discipline and after frequencies were run several of the initial categories were dropped. Additionally, seven languages omitted from the list of languages were added during editing.

A question dealing with the work's approach to history was dropped partway through the coding because it was unworkable when it became clear that it was too difficult to operationalize. On the other hand, an additional coding category was added partway through the project. That category dealt with the type of journal or collection in which the work was found. The choices were: book, topical collection, group-specific topical collection, communication journal, ethnic studies journal, communication history journal, history journal, regional history journal, group-specific topical journal, and other.

The need for the publication category was highlighted by the study's identification of many more articles that had appeared in citation form in any of the journalism history studies dealing with the subject. The choice of category divisions arose after a review of the recurring sources for research based on an analysis of the completed coding instruments.

Definitions were provided for all of the coding decisions. While the research was conducted by a single coder, initial pretesting of the coding instrument by the primary coder and independent coders offered evidence that most of the categories were sound. Agreement between the primary coder and the independent coders was 92.3 percent and 94.1 percent, respectively. That level agreement was considered acceptable because it was more than 90 percent and the incidence of disagreement were not concentrated in the coding of any particular items.

The coding instrument was developed from the start with variable names and value labels in place to facilitate data processing using SPSSx. In addition, provision was made for the number of spaces required by each variable so that coding decisions were recorded in such a way as to facilitate computer recording. Each article or book was assigned a identification number and thus represented a single case. In all, 120 were content analyzed and coded. Once coded, the data was then recorded and edited, and it was during the editing process that the additional categories were added where the same response occurred in the "other" category more than three times. The SPSSx package used automatically dropped empty categories from analysis.

The first step in the analysis of the data was simple frequency tabulations. Next, the data were analyzed using cross tabulations, which allow the analysis of one variable in relation to another. Because the study cases were not randomly selected, the use of cross tabulation tables is not intended to address the probability that the study findings are representative of a larger whole. Rather, they are used as a means to establish, organize and make sense of the relationships between the study variables.

FINDINGS

The study analyzed 120 cases -- books and articles dealing with the foreign language press. Of that total, 23 were books and 97 were articles, whether journal articles or articles by individual authors in topical collections.

Of the 120 cases, one author's origin could not be identified (see table 1). Of those which were identified, 99 or 83 percent originated with scholars working in the United States, 15 or 13 came from Western Europe and 5, or 4 percent, from Eastern Europe.[1]

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[1] Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Twenty-one studies dealt with more than one foreign-language group press. The highest single language represented was Spanish with 13 cases, while German came next with 10. Finnish and Norwegian each had eight studies each, while Danish, Swedish and Polish had six each. There were few studies that dealt with foreign-language press printed in non-European languages. One study looked at the Arabic-language press and four studies looked at Chinese-language papers.

The bulk of the cases, 85 studies, or 70 percent, were histories (see table 1). The largest history representations were nine cases each in three categories: German, Spanish and studies that dealt with more than one language. Norwegian was close behind with eight. Fifteen studies, or 13 percent of the total, were communication research. Studies of the Spanish-language press were found in the communication, history, law and "other" categories. Studies on the Polish-language press were found in all those but law. At the other extreme, the eight works that dealt with the Norwegian-language press were all histories.

Twenty-one studies involved more than one foreign-language press and were spread across four disciplines. Of the six total sociological studies, five dealt with more than one language.

Of the possible research approaches, only five angle labels showed any representation in the study (see table 2). The 120 were divided among ethnic, foreign-language, immigrant, labor and women, in that order. Over half, or 53 percent, of the cases were labeled ethnic, followed by foreign-language at 35 cases or 29 percent. The largest single group was descriptive research which adopted an ethnic angle, in all 43 cases or 36 percent of the whole.

Seventy-six cases, or 63 percent, were descriptive (see table 3). Twenty-seven were explanatory and 17 were exploratory. Overall, 54 studies, or 45 percent, were chronologies, followed closely by studies that looked at trends, at 51 or 43 percent. Fifteen studies studied events.

Descriptive studies were found in all work discipline groups. Logically, history was the category with the most cases at 61, or 51 percent (see table 1). History also had the highest number of explanatory studies with 19 cases, or 16 percent. Exploratory studies were fairly evenly spread across four categories. The history and other categories had five each, while sociology had four, and communication had three.

All 15 of the communication research studies originated with scholars working in the United States. Of the 84 history cases, 81 percent were American.

The bulk of the history was qualitative. Communication studies, on the other hand, were split between the two methodological approaches seven quantitative and eight qualitative. Sociology was evenly split between the two categories.

Historical works were also heavily weighted toward chronology (see table 4). Fifty-four percent of all the histories were chronological studies, while 32 percent were trend studies.

Communication works, on the other hand, were mostly trend studies. Nine fell in that category, while there were three communication studies each in the event and chronology categories.

The discipline of the author could be identified for 97 of the 120 works in the study (see table 2). Of those 97, 86 percent undertook qualitative research. With the exception of sociology, most scholars in all fields did descriptive work. Twenty-eight of the historians undertook descriptive and 11 undertook explanatory. Most of the sociologists pursued exploratory research. One third of all the exploratory pieces were done by communication scholars.

Half of the ethnic research was done by historians, while most foreign-language media research was done by communications scholars (see table 2). Immigrant research was spread in small numbers across five discipline groups, while what little research on women there was was not done by historians. Again, however, it must be noted that in 23 cases it was impossible to identify the scholar's research discipline.

Those identified as language and literature or communication scholars were more likely to do trend research, while historians were more likely to do chronologies. American scholars produced none of the labor history. Of the five labor pieces, three were authored by scholars from Western Europe and two from Eastern Europe. European scholars were more likely to do trend or event research, while American scholars were more likely to do chronologies and least likely to do event research. Origin had little or no impact on the method the researchers chose. Origin also had little to do with the choice of research design -- most studies were descriptive no matter what the author's origin.

Most of the works, 43 cases or 36 percent, were found in topical collections,[30] followed by books at 23 cases, or 19 percent (see table 5). Topical journals devoted to individual ethnic groups and topical collections followed with 13 and 10 cases, respectively. Communication journals and communication history journals together came to 17 cases, or 12 percent. History was not found exclusively in history sources, but rather was spread across eight sources, while communication and sociological studies were each found in five types of sources.

Works by communication scholars were not found in ethnic studies journals (see table 6).[2] Communication scholars did most of the publishing in the communication and communication history journals, but most of their work showed up in books, topical collections and other types of journals. In fact, only 14 percent of the work done by authors with identifiable disciplines was found in communication and communication history journals. Two historians and one language and literature scholar were found to have published in communication and communication history journals.

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[2] The only article in an ethnic journal written by a communication author was an article that dealt in essence with historiography rather than history.

The only type of research to show up in all sources was ethnic. Labor research showed up only in topical collections. Immigrant articles were not found in communication journals, nor were studies dealing with women or labor. Topical collections were the only sources that brought together work by researchers from the U.S., Western and Eastern Europe. Those collections were the only places the work of Eastern European scholars appeared.

As expected, the most common research focus was the producer at the industry level. In all, 63 percent of the studies focused on the industry as a whole, while 34 percent looked individual companies and 28 percent focused on individual producers.[3] Most communication studies -- 12 of the 15 identified -- focused on the industry, while only 47 of the 85 history studies took the same route.

Works that focused on ideas in relation to the process of publishing the foreign-language press were split fairly evenly between disciplines. Half of the studies also focused on press content. On the other hand, only 10 percent looked at the procedures of running the foreign-language press and less than four percent of the studies looked at distribution. Just over a third of the studies considered the audience for the foreign-language press, and 76 percent of those studies with an audience focus were histories. Half of the sociology works and one third of the communication studies looked at audience.

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[3] It should be remembered here that works could have more than one positive focus response. In the case of book-length treatments, for instance, there might be a chapter focusing on the industry, another on the editors, and yet another on the audience.

Between two thirds and three quarters of all the studies did offer some context for the study. The most frequent context provided was political at 76 percent, while the least frequent at 65 percent was economic. In reverse, one quarter to one third of all the studies offered no context at all for their studies of the foreign-language press.

Of the 17 studies that used quantitative methods, 13 focused on content and nine also looked at audience. Of the qualitative works, 61 percent focused on the producer at the industry level.

It must be noted again here that the sample for the study was not randomly selected, but instead attempted to include all relevant published articles and books for which citations were found during an exhaustive literature search. In addition, the data collected were primarily nominal. As a result, inferences can be made only about the research analyzed for the study and the findings were analyzed using simple descriptive statistics.

Reviewing the briefly findings, to address the study's research questions:

*What is the nature of the body of research dealing with the foreign-language press?

There turned out to be considerably more research than critics were aware of, though their comments about textbook reflections of that work were confirmed. The findings on the location of the studies outside the general body of communication journals may begin to account for the lack of familiarity with historians' works in the subject area.

*Do scholars' research disciplines influence the shape and character of their research; and, is foreign-language press research more likely to be undertaken by scholars whose primary research discipline is not communication?

The evidence supports the idea that the scholars' research disciplines will influence the shape and character of their research. Historians generally did qualitative, chronological, historical studies of a single-language press. Sociologists were more varied and more likely to do studies which involved comparisons of more than one language group. When communication scholars did undertake to study the question they, too, were more likely to take diverse approaches.

Foreign-language press research is more likely to be undertaken by scholars whose primary research discipline is not communication. Communication scholars made up only 29 percent of the total, while 38 percent were historians. Most of the research is done by.historians concentrating on study of the individual ethnic groups.

In this area, the study's findings were markedly different than those of the Folkerts and Lacy study of Journalism Quarterly articles.[39] While they found it was the authors from outside of communication who tended to be more unconventional, in this study the communication scholars were the adventurers. The differences between results may simply say something about the populations under study. Communication scholars, even traditional ones, may well be less traditional when they are compared to historians generally than they are when they are compared to other scholars publishing in a journal devoted to journalism scholarship.

*Do the scholars' geographic origins influence their research approaches?

Origin appeared to influence the research angle and time frame, but had little or no effect on their design or method. While it is possible that the preponderance of U.S. works in the study may mask the differences that might exist, the European studies tended to follow the same patterns observed among the works of American scholars.

It should be noted here, however, that European publications gave space to American scholars. It is possible that had the study identified the origin of the publication, it might have been possible that more diverse approaches to research were taken in European publications, as opposed to by European scholars.

Certainly, Leonard's study of immigration history generally supports the notion a historian's background may provide important guidance to understanding his or her choice of subject, method and design.[48]

*Does most foreign-language press research take a chronological approach to its subject? And, is foreign-language press research more likely to focus on the producers than it is to focus on processes or products?

Many of the works identified in the study did take a chronological approach to their subject matter, but nearly as many examined trends. However, few studies did focus on the foreign-language press in relation to individual events.

Foreign-language press research was more likely to focus on the producers than to focus on processes or products. In keeping with Dicken-Garcia's observations of the body of press history as a whole, foreign-language press research tends to look at the institution, corporation or person. And, if synthesis is difficult, it may arise from the trend she noted to fragment the study of the media into isolated parts that obscure commonalities.[41]

CONCLUSIONS

If journalism history textbooks are devoid of foreign-language press research it is not because that research has not been done. While there is ample room for additional research, there are well-written foreign-language press studies that have not found their way into the common bibliographies offered by journalism historians interested in the topic. In part this may be because communication scholars do not do much of the foreign-language press research, and the vast bulk of that research is not published in communication journals.

Historians have done most of the ethnic press research, perhaps because they become familiar with the newspapers they use as sources for their research. It can also be assumed that the historians who use the foreign-language press as source material are able to use the language in which the papers are printed, a determinant that may be among those which deter many communication scholars from pursuing foreign-language press research.

Whatever the scholar's discipline, there would appear to be less value in the research that takes advantage of ability in a foreign language but uses that ability to list rather than to provide insight into a particular language's press. This is not a criticism of bibliographical studies which gather and record information of the publication of foreign-language papers; rather, it is a criticism of those studies which purport to be history, but do not go beyond a chronological listing of the papers and editors who founded them. Well-done, such chronologies can locate the foreign-language media in the larger picture of the immigrant group's experience of America, thus providing valuable material for scholars seeking to synthesize a larger understanding of the part played by American foreign-language press.

If the history of foreign-language press runs in journals that are off the beaten track for many communication historians, this study provides a bibliography which suggests not only specific articles but also broad sources of additional work. Certainly regional history journals and the journals that record the history of other ethnic groups should yet produce an ever lengthening list of old and new studies.

Park's critique of journalism history as "merely records of the fortunes of the men who publish them" is still too much on target. Mainstream communication scholars may have moved closer to what he called "the natural history of the press" -- defined as "an account of the evolution of the press as a social institution"[42] -- but the fact that they still religiously turn to his 1922 work on the foreign-language press as gospel suggests that they have more territory to cover.

There may be validity to Covert's suggestion that journalism historians are frequently too hard on themselves, because they often come late to their discipline after careers in media.[43] But that apology is only valid to a point. Park himself was a journalist before he turned to sociology at the age of 50 and it was as a sociologist that he made what still stands as the seminal work on the foreign-language press in America.

At one time or another, as Seller points out, most Americans were immigrants and members of ethnic communities,[44] and many of those communities were shaped by their press. It may not be necessary that communication scholars undertake ethnic press research in its primary form, if they can begin to draw on the research that has been done by scholars in other fields. However, it might be suggested that communication researchers do bring a distinctive expertise to the subject. Thus, if ethnic scholars and historians have the language skills and the understanding of the history of the foreign-language communities necessary to explore the subject, communication scholars may have the insight on the functioning and character of media undertakings. Perhaps a synthesis of the divergent approaches to the subject offers an opportunity for a more complete understanding of the place of the foreign-language press in the warp and weave of the immigrant experience that forged, and continues to forge, modern American society.

While the study suggests that there is ample room for productive, insightful study of the foreign-language press in America, it does not bear out the contention that foreign-language press has not be studied.

TABLE 1 -- Design, Origin, and Method by Work Discipline

count tot %	work disc.					
	comm	hist	law	soc	other	total
design						
descrip	7 5.8	61 50.8	2 1.7	1 .8	5 4.2	76 63.3
explan.	5 4.2	19 15.8	1 .8	1 .8	1 .8	27 22.5
explor.	3 2.5	5 4.2		4 3.3	5 4.2	17 14.2
total	15 12.6	85 70.8	3 2.5	6 5.0	11 9.2	120 100
origin						
US	15 12.6	68 57.1	2 1.7	5 4.2	9 5.9	99 83.2
W. Eur.		12 10.1	1 .8	1 .8	1 .8	15 12.6
E. Eur.		4 3.4			1 .8	5 4.2
total	15 12.6	84 70.6	3 2.5	6 5.0	11 7.6	119 100
method						
quant	7 5.8	5 4.2		3 2.5	2 1.7	17 14.2
qualit	8 6.7	80 66.7	3 2.5	3 2.5	7 5.8	103 85.8
total	15 12.5	85 70.9	3 2.5	6 5.0	9 7.5	120 100

TABLE 2 -- Angle and Design by Author Discipline

count tot %	auth disc							
	bibl	comm	hist	lang	educ	soc	other	total
angle								
ethnic	8 8.2	9 9.3	27 27.8	5 5.2	1 1.0	1 1.0	2 2.1	53 54.6
for lang	1 1.0	14 14.4	6 6.2	3 3.1	1 1.0	2 2.1		27 27.8
labor			1 1.0	1 1.0			1 1.0	3 3.1
immig	1 1.0	4 4.1	3 3.1	2 2.1		1 1.0		11 11.3
women	1 1.0	1 1.0			1 1.0			3 3.1
total	11 11.3	28 28.9	37 38.1	11 11.3	3 3.1	4 4.1	3 3.1	97 100
design								
desc	7 7.2	15 15.5	25 25.8	5 5.2	2 2.1	1 1.0	2 2.1	57 58.8
explan	1 1.0	7 7.2	11 11.3	3 3.1	1 1.0			23 23.7
explor	3 3.1	6 6.2	1 1.0	3 3.1		3 3.1	1 1.0	17 17.5
total	11 11.3	28 28.9	37 38.1	11 11.3	3 3.1	4 4.1	3 3.1	97 100

TABLE 3 -- Time Frame, Method, and Design By Angle

count total %	angle					
	ethnic	foreign lang.	labor	immi-grant	women	total
time						
event	8 6.7	4 3.3		1 .8	2 1.7	15 12.5
trend	27 22.5	13 10.8	4 3.3	6 5.0	1 .8	51 42.5
chron	29 24.2	18 15	1 .8	6 5.0		54 45.0
total	64 53.3	35 29.2	5 4.2	13 10.8	3 2.5	120 100
method						
quant.	4 3.3	9 7.5	2 1.7	2 1.7		17 14.2
qualit.	60 50.0	26 21.7	3 2.5	11 9.2	3 2.5	103 85.8
total	64 53.3	35 29.2	5 4.2	13 10.8	3 2.5	120 100
design						
descr.	43 35.8	21 17.5	3 2.5	7 5.8	2 1.7	76 63.3
explan.	14 11.7	8 6.7	2 1.7	2 1.7	1 .8	27 22.5
explor.	7 5.8	6 5.0		4 3.3		17 14.2
total	64 53.3	35 29.2	5 4.2	13 10.8	3 2.5	120 100

TABLE 4 -- Time and Angle by Work Discipline

count tot %	work disc.					
	comm	hist	law	soc	other	total
time						
event	3 2.5	11 9.2		1 .8		15 12.5
trend	9 7.5	28 23.3	3 2.5	5 4.2	6 5.0	51 42.5
chron	3 2.5	46 38.3			5 4.2	54 42.5
total	15 12.5	85 70.8	3 2.5	6 5.0	11 9.2	120 100
angle						
ethnic	5 4.2	47 39.2	3 2.5	2 1.7	7 5.9	69 53.3
for lang	10 8.3	22 18.3		2 1.7	1 .8	35 29.2
labor		4 3.3			1 .8	5 4.2
immigr.		9 7.5		2 1.7		13 10.8
women		3 2.5			2 1.7	9 7.5
total	15 12.5	85 70.8	3 2.5	6 5.0	11 9.2	120 100

TABLE 5 -- Research Source by Work Discipline

count tot %	work disc.					
	comm	hist	law	soc	other	total
source						
book	6 5.0	37 30.8	2 1.7	1 .8	2 1.7	23 19.2
topical coll.	1 .8	37 30.8	2 1.7	1 .8	2 1.7	43 35.8
comm. journal	5 4.2	3 2.5		1 .8		9 7.5
ehtnic journal	2 1.7	1 .8		1 .8	1 .8	5 4.2
comm history		5 4.2				5 4.2
region history		7 5.8			1 .8	8 6.7
grp top jrn	1 .8	10 8.3			2 1.7	13 10.8
grp top coll		8 6.7	1 .8	1 .8		10 8.3
other				2 1.7	2 1.7	4 3.3
total	15 12.5	85 70.8	3 2.5	6 5.0	11 9.2	120 100

TABLE 6 -- Research Source by Author Discipline

count tot %	aut. disc.							
	bibl.	comm.	hist.	lang.	educ.	soc.	other	tot.
source								
book	1 1.0	9 9.3	6 6.2		1 1.0	2 2.1		19 19.6
topical coll.	5 5.2	3 3.1	18 18.6	7 7.2	2 2.1		3 3.1	38 39.2
comm. journal		8 8.2		1 1.0				9 9.3
ethnic journal	2 2.1		1 1.0			1 1.0		4 4.1
comm history		3 3.1	2 2.1					5 5.2
region history		1 1.0	2 2.1	1 1.0				4 4.1
grp top jrn	1 1.0	1 1.0		4 4.1				6 6.2
grp top coll	1 1.0	3 3.1	4 4.1	1 1.0				9 9.3
other	1 1.0			1 1.0		1 1.0		3 3.1
total	11 11.3	28 28.9	37 38.1	11 11.3	3 3.1	4 4.1	3 3.1	97 100

ENDNOTES

1. Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951): 3.1.
2. These figures come from the Gale Directory of Publications and Broadcast Media 1991 (formerly the Ayer Directory), which has never been thought to be completely accurate in its recording of foreign-language press listings.
3. Frederic Hudson's Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873) predates the large waves of immigration at the end of the nineteenth century, but nonetheless makes little note on the German language and other papers that did exist during the period: 100-101, 198, 493; James M. Lee's History of American Journalism (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917) makes no note of the foreign-language press; Sidney Kobre's Development of American Journalism (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1969) mentions the German language press in passing only; 296, 375.

Slightly more attention to the subject is found in Frank Luther Mott's American Journalism: A History 1690-1960 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962), though even that attention is episodic and not in-depth: 29, 121, 317, 493-94, 588-89, 623, 730-31; Edwin Emery and Michael Emery's The Press and American: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984) makes references to four foreign-language press groups, and again only glancingly: 44, 113, 115, 166, 169, 306, 358-60, 575, 582-84, 684, 740; Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter, Voices of a Nation (New York: Macmillan, 1989) has three brief references to the foreign language press: 259, 303, 305.

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10. Miller, *The Ethnic Press*, xi-xii, xx; Hardt,"The Foreign Language Press": 115-116.
11. Henry B. Leonard, "American Immigration: An Historiographical Essay," *Ethnic Forum* 8:2 (1988): 9-23.
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13. Ibid., 15-32.
14. Ibid., 16.
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16. Ibid., 13.
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18. Jean Folkerts and Stephen Lacy, "Journalism History Writing, 1975-1983," *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (Autumn 1985): 585-588.
19. James Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1 (Spring 1974):3-5, 27.
20. Folkerts and Lacy, "Journalism History Writing," 585.
21. Hardt, "The Foreign-Language Press," 119.
22. Leonard, "American Immigration," 9-23.
23. Leonard, "American Immigration," 9.
24. Ibid., 11.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 11-14.
27. Ibid., 16.
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30. Park, *The Immigrant Press*.
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42. Belman, "Robert Ezra Park", 117.
43. Cathy Covert, "Some Thoughts on Research," Journalism History 1 (Spring 1974): 32-33.
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SONGS MY PEOPLE SANG

CANADIAN VICTORIAN LABOUR JOURNALISM
AND THE ORAL TRADITION

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INTRODUCTION

By the time that four of Britain's North American colonies formed the Dominion of Canada on July 1, 1867, a relatively sophisticated political and economic foundation existed upon which the new nation was to be built. Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald was determined to create a state capable of resisting what he believed were the excesses of American republicanism, notably its unbridled capitalism and its secular liberal-democracy. Macdonald's "Grand Canadian Vision" promoted those institutions that he considered sacred specifically the British monarchy, the Protestant religion and the Conservative party. Macdonald's Canada was to be more than the extension of the British ideal on the opposite side of the Atlantic. It was to be more British than Britain itself.

As a result, Macdonald's economic vision was cast in a protectionist armour designed both to shield the numerous financial institutions which had grown out of the fur trade and to encourage the emergence of a major industrial society capable of exploiting the country's wealth of raw materials. His objectives passed into legislation as the National Policy of 1879, an extensive grab-bag of tariffs designed to seal off the 49th parallel and give preference to imperial trade. The National Policy governed Canadian economic behaviour towards the United States until the recent bi-lateral Free Trade Agreement replaced it.

By the mid-1880s, the Canadian economy was beginning to emerge from its dependence on cottage industry and agriculture and the move to an urban, industrial society was irreversible. The transition was fiercely resisted by some. The young, forced off the farm and into the cities, reacted by providing the infrastructure for a new, urban and confrontational working class. During these turbulent decades, Canada, like other emerging industrial states was forced to deal with constant outbreaks of proletarian dissent, more often than not expressed through a growing and militant trades union movement. And, as in other industrial states, Canadian trades unionism produced its literature. Victorian working class movements founded no less than 133 trades union and companion socialist newspapers in the first four decades of Canadian Confederation. More often than not they were edited by sympathetic intellectual elites determined to use their newspapers as organs for the class education of working people.

For the most part, Victorian labour editors relied on publishing a variety of extracts from well-known European dissidents such as John Ruskin, Count Leo Tolstoy, Karl Marx and William Morris along with American radicals like John Swinton, Gaylord Wilshire and Julius Augustus Wayland. These frequently re-cycled economic and political treatises were supplemented by Canadian perspectives written by the radical lawyer and journalist Thomas Phillips Thompson, Christian Socialist and temperance advocate George Wrigley and British Columbia printer R. Parmeter Pettipiece. These often turgid and dense intellectual dissertations shared pages with news of local trades union activities. Both these offerings stood in stark contrast to the colourful and often exaggerated lines of proletarian poetry and music which appeared with great frequency in the Victorian period.

Archie Green, an American collector of labour songs and folklore concluded that "many of these items are pure folklore by the severest standards of life in tradition, anonymity and variation. They await an anthologists's eye and hand."[1] Despite Green's invitation, there are few anthologies of North-American working-class songs and poems other than a 1975 collection compiled by Philip Foner as part of his multi-volume study of the rise of American trades unions.[2] Nonetheless, beyond a few questionable "letters-to-the-editor", these verses provide clear evidence of the issues which concerned Victorian working people. This literature is important to both labour and journalism history because very few workers themselves chose to become journalists in the accepted meaning of the word. They ignored essay writing, editorial commentary and news reporting, opting instead to spread their messages of deprivation and discontent in rhymes and songs, hundreds of which found their way into the pages of the Victorian labour journals.

In their simplest form, these poems and songs reduced the lessons of class education to a few well-rounded and often graphic verses. They provide us with evidence of the last vestiges of an oral tradition which had been born in working-class protest movements in Europe in the late eighteenth. In his introduction to the **Labor Reform Songster**, a collection of poems and songs published by the Knights of Labor, Phillips Thompson observed that "Songs will reach thousands to whom arguments would at first be addressed in vain, and even veterans in the movement will listen to an argument in a better mood for having drank [sic] in some familiar truth in the setting of a well remembered air."[3]

The radical poetic tradition owes much of its inheritance to British electoral reform movements who counted amongst their membership hundreds of illiterate labourers who, while meeting in safe taverns, encouraged their literate colleagues to read aloud the latest news in the radical press.[4] It would be inaccurate to claim that North American, and specifically Canadian working-class writers were inspired exclusively by their British predecessors but the European influence should not be underestimated. Percy Bysshe Shelley and Charles Dickens, who were among the literary and journalistic notables who saluted the Reform cultures of their respective times, were frequently published in Canadian dissident journals.[5] Although some Canadians, possibly Phillips Thompson, were familiar with the oral traditions in British working-class life, most North American poets wrote from their own experiences or those of their colleagues.

It is characteristic of an oral culture that it transmits its songs, poems and stories from generation to generation along with the legends that inspired them.[6] Canadian communications scholar Harold Innis has argued that, in general, predominantly oral cultures have displayed democratic and/or revolutionary tendencies much more so than written cultures. Innis also believed that these reformist/revolutionary movements were persistently undermined by the autocracy of the printed word when the balance of power shifted from an oral to a written society. He noted that in all societies the daily press was part of the ruling structure, consistently reflecting the views of each respective society's dominant ideology.[7] Consequently, "To the oppressed workers, the labour press was both an advocate and a symbol of hope, the only means through which they could voice their opposition to exploitation and their aspirations and demands."[8]

The persistent publication of working-class poems and songs in the labour journals is symptomatic of the considerable respect held by the journalistic elites for the bonding role that oral communications provided for their semi-literate constituency. To their credit, the journalists made labour's oral history part of labour's written record. In fact they had little choice. Compulsory school attendance regulations had only minimal impact in raising literacy levels in Victorian Canada.[9] For workers, reciting verses was "an indulgence that custom had made as much of a necessity in a New York shipyard as a grind-stone."[10] Early in his career, the young cigar-maker Samuel Gompers watched artisans pay fellow workers to read extracts including poetry and songs aloud from labour newspapers.[11] When Toronto's bookbinders organized into Knights of Labor Local Assembly 5743, they declared: "In the Order of the Knights of Labor there is an Order of Business which calls for readings, poems, etc., and by this means members are educated."[12] Evidence indicates that many working-class poems written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were composed with music before appearing as music-less verse in the labour press. Yet, there were some poems written specifically for labour newspapers that were never part of the purely oral tradition.[13] They were the "modern" material which labour editors skilfully mixed and matched with traditional rhymes and tunes to the point that placing them in working-class history has been nigh unto impossible. Side by side, old and new, together the lines have given us a lasting contemporary impression of the reality of working-class life as seen through the eyes of working people themselves.

As much as North American poets wrote about their own experiences, many of their themes had been suggested in earlier European writings. For example, Percy Shelley's labour poems claimed that labour made men proud, a notion which appeared consistently in North American working-class folklore in the late Victorian period. The worker was a "hero". The hero became a "doer". Shelley wrote that the sheer numerical size of the working class had the potential to reverse working-class industrial misfortune. He told labourers that working for a universal class-consciousness would help them discover the causes of their exploitation. For the English poets whose works were re-printed in the North American labour journals, the vision of freedom extended well beyond the right to vote and demands for legislative representation. Liberty included release from pain, suffering, hunger and all forms of economic deprivation. The expectation that God sided with righteousness (and thus labour's cause) played an important role in North American working-class literature.[14]

PRIDE OF LABOUR

In their mission to cultivate a comprehensive working-class consciousness, the poets, through the labour journalists who published their works, addressed two basic themes within the common theme of the Pride of Labour. First, they claimed that all forms of labour were worthwhile and, second, they wrote that no human life could exist unless labour was willing to produce goods and services.[15] The concept took many shapes and forms during the forty year period following Confederation. The verses published in the labour journals prior to 1880 speak of a sense of retreat into a "dignity of labour" ideology. It was a defensive reaction, precipitated by a sense of frustration driven by the belief that the working-class condition was unalterable, at least in earthly life. Although some poets expressed anger and frustration at working-class exploitation, few North American writers followed the British recommendation for direct action until W. H. Rowe edited the **Palladium of Labor** in Hamilton, Ontario in the early 1880s.[16]

While retaining a sense of labour pride, the early 1880s poets began to combine their sense of despair with a mounting frustration with working-class living and working conditions. It was not until the mid-point of the decade that some optimism began to appear. By 1884 poets were re-cycling some of the themes from the 1870s, such as the inevitable ascension of labour to social, economic and political equality on earth as well as in Heaven. The position evolved from the certainty that all labour was dignified, created all wealth and was Divinely supported. However, the poets also suggested that working-class progress was being impeded by those unable and unwilling to share their values. Thus, the belief that classes, those who owned and those who produced were destined to exist in conflict, appeared in the poetry for the first time.[17]

During this period, it was rare when a working-class poem did not contain at least one reference to Spiritual intervention. Poets regularly claimed that working-class problems that could not be resolved on earth would be solved in Heaven. In this regard, labour's search for equality was not a purely material matter. In poetry published later in the century, class conflict became both material and spiritual issues. During the 1880s and 1890s, the sense of class conflict which appeared in the English-language poetry did not emerge in French Canada. Although working-class Québecois complained of similar economic shortcomings as their colleagues in the English-speaking industrial cities, the French-language labour press reminded its readers that it should only take pride in its work.[18]

Exploitation was the major theme explored by the poets after Phillips Thompson began publishing a regular series of poems and songs in his **Labor Advocate** in Toronto, Ontario in the autumn of 1890. The dignity-of-labour theme popular with fellow labour journalists W. H. Rowe in Hamilton and Alexander Wright from Guelph was virtually ignored in the early 1890s as seen in the "Song of the Lower Classes" by Ernest Jones. Like some of his predecessors two decades earlier, Jones returned to the argument that working-class suffering would be relieved in Heaven.

> We're low, we're low-we're very, very low,
> And yet when the trumpets ring,
> The thrust of a poor man's arm will go
> Through the heart of the proudest king.
> We're low, we're low-our place we know,
> We're only the rank and file,
> We're not too low to kill the foe,
> But too low to touch the spoil.[19]

The Victorian Christian Socialist and temperance activist George Wrigley relied on the oral tradition as much as his colleagues, although most of the verses that Wrigley chose to publish attempted to teach the combined value of socialism and Christian reformism. "A Song of Labor", published in London, Ontario's **Era of Brotherhood,** reflects Wrigley's vision of nature and spiritualism which he believed conflicted with the fundamentals of industrial capitalism. A worker could find no pride in these relationships.

> She works and weaves while others rest;
> Has naught for roof but heaven above her?
> For others spin their silken nest,
> With scarce a rag her limbs to cover;
> Provides the robes that pleasure wears,
> With want and misery around her.
> And knowing not her strength, she bears
> The chains in which her lords have bound her.[20]

Much of the poetry published in the later 1890s promoted the concept that working-class deprivation could be resolved by forming working-class organizations. The poets returned to the belief that if these organizations were to be successful, workers had to realize the dignity inherent in all kinds of labour. They argued that universal acceptance of a belief in dignity was the first step in forging an international working-class consciousness.[21]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, working-class poets became more dramatic in their campaign to promote the belief that all persons depended on the productive capacity of the working class. Two sub-themes began to appear in the poetry. First, the authors portrayed this productive capacity with zeal and, second, they believed that since all humanity was dependent on labour's ability to produce, workers had a right to expropriate surplus value at will. Both themes appear in "The Working Man", published in 1900 in George Wrigley's Toronto journal **Citizen and Country**.

> He lays his hand upon the stubborn soil,
> And lo! a mighty miracle is done,
> It glows responsive to his touch of toil,
> Fruitful and fair beneath the golden sun.
>
> To him the crowded city looks for food;
> From him gaunt famine flees and squalor hides,
> His energies sustain the multitude,
> And where his blessings fall, pale want subsides.[22]

To support the pride-of-labour position, it was a common practice for working-class poets to write verses praising specific occupations. Railroad engineers, iron moulders, furniture makers, printers and brass polishers were among a host of skilled labourers who composed poems and songs praising their skills and the dignity of their work. Consequently, poets began to turn their attention to the dignity of unskilled labour as well.[23] The belief that labour was regal in its own right, a factor suggested but not stated in nineteenth-century oral culture, was clearly asserted in the early years of the twentieth. Labour was often compared to a deity and regularly equated with nobility.[24] The poets' faith in the dignity of labour was exaggerated to the point that all manual workers, skilled and unskilled alike, were thought to possess infallible powers.[25]

Not all working-class writers believed in the dignity-of-labour concept. Dissent from the theme was rare but some counter-opinions surfaced, particularly after the turn of the century. Writing in Québec's **Cotton's Weekly**, Francis M. L. Radich advised working people to reject the idea that labour had dignity. Radich accused working-class leaders of deceiving their followers through the promotion of such ideas. He wrote:

> The "dignity-of-labor" prattle
> Is sheer nonsense, rank hypocrisy:
> The "dignity" of enslaved chattle![sic]
> What an affront! What a mockery.[26]

Although probably more reflective of the reality of the age, Radich was not representative of the working-class poets. Those poets prominent in the campaign for labour reform were members of a culture which first spoke of and subsequently wrote of their aspirations for universal, working-class solidarity. These people lionized the dignity-of-labour ideology because they believed it was fundamental for the development of a cohesive, working-class consciousness. The poets consistently encouraged workers to accept the element of faith that taught the value of their overall social contributions. The possibility of raising positive working-class images which would be accepted by workers themselves became one of the pillars of working-class literary objectives in Victorian Canada. It is summarized in the song of "The True Aristocrats," written by a poet known only as Stewart.

> Who are the nobles of the earth,
> The true aristocrats,
> Who need not bow their heads to lords
> Nor doff to kings their hats?
> Who are they but the men of toil.
> The mighty and the free
> Whose hearts and hands subdue the earth,
> And compass all the sea?
>
> These claim no gaud of heraldry
> And scorn the knighting rod;
> Their coats of arms are noble deeds
> Their peerage is from God!
> They take not from ancestral graves
> The glory of their name,
> But win as once their fathers won
> The laurel wreath of fame.[27]

THEM AND US

The working-class folklore published if the labour press reveals visions of a society divided between "them and us". For most working-class poets, the enemy was easy to identify. He was the politician, the industrialist, the banker, the lawyer and the clergyman. Although they recognized the increasing division of labour in Victorian Canada, the poets refused to believe these distinctions were sufficient to define society into more than two opposing classes. In their view, if one received a wage and was subject to someone else's control, that person was a member of the working-class. Conversely, those who exercised power over someone of a lower occupational status sympathized with the dominant, ruling culture. It did not matter if that person received a salary or lived off dividends. All poets pointed to the ability of the ruling structure to increase substantially its own material wealth. In the final analysis, it was wealth which divided the working class from the remainder of society.

In the earliest poetry published in the Canadian labour journals, readers were advised to accept their lot in life[28], look forward to eventual spiritual reward and to respect deprived workers. Poets in the 1880s, however, were unwilling to accept class inequality. They were beginning to point out that inequality was essential for the successful operation of an economically divided society. As a result, they argued that if inequities could be eliminated, so could social disparity. They wrote that if a person operated within the dominant culture, that person had to be evil, while working people suffered from no such moral stigma.[29]

By the middle of the 1880s, more poetry appeared which claimed that the dominant culture was deliberately producing a hell on earth for working people.[30] The poets questioned the right of those outside the working class to expropriate the national wealth. They felt that only labour should have this right since labour produced all earthly wealth. This vision of working-class exploitation was exacerbated by the belief that the rich wasted the resources manufactured by the labour of working people. A. J. H. Duganne's poem questions who should have the right to own, a consistent theme in nineteenth-century working-class folklore.

Who owneth America's soil?
Is it he who graspeth the hard red gold;
Whose glittering gains are by millions told;
Who bindeth his slaves to the woof and loom,
And chaineth their souls in living tomb,-
The tomb of hopeless toil?
Not he, not he-by Heaven!

Not these, not these-by Heaven!
But to those who labor for God and Man;
Who work their part in the world's great plan-
Who plant good seed in the desert's dearth,
And bring forth treasures from brave old Earth;
To these the soil is given-
To these, to these-by Heaven![31]

Early twentieth-century poetry offered a class analysis similar to that which emerged in the 1880s with one significant difference. It was accompanied by a call for working-class action. In the two decades between the first issue of Hamilton's **Palladium of Labor** and the birth of twentieth-century labour newspapers such as the British Columbia miner's newspaper the **Sandon Paystreak**, working-class poetry became more aggressive in its tone. The anonymous writer who composed "It is Time" is representative of this change in perspective.

We have seen the idler feast,
While the toiler lacked for bread;
We have seen the king and priest
Rob the living and the dead;
We have seen the thief arrayed
In the purple robes of state,
While the honest man was made
To beg succor at the gate.
It has ever been the same
Since the reign of wealth began;
Let us stop the sickening game,
Down with Mammon, up with Man.[32]

Many working-class poets attempted to keep the spirit of nineteenth-century eclectic radicalism alive in an early twentieth-century labour climate increasingly influenced by Gomperism, market unionism and the growing socialist split between evolutionists and revolutionists. In many cases, moderate editorial positions in some labour journals stood in stark contrast with the poetry chosen for publication.[33]

THE MILLIONAIRES AND THE MONOPOLISTS

Although a large number of poems and songs spoke of class conflict, Canadian labour journals published more poetry and music condemning millionaires and monopolists. The poets employed the colourful, slanted and often exaggerated language styles common in Victorian radical journalism that ignored what little libel and slander legislation which existed. Millionaires represented all that was repulsive and exploitative in industrial capitalism. Poets and labour journalists accused the wealthy of committing all kinds of secular and moral crimes against humanity. Working-class writers claimed that the millionaires' wealth was immoral since it had been accumulated in part by killing workers in Homestead, Pennsylvania, Massachussetts cotton mills, Chicago's Haymarket and Montréal's cigar factories. Consequently, working-class writers argued that nothing could be done to cleanse the rich of the social wrongs they had committed.[34] Often using the form of well-known tales and rhymes, the poets normally concluded their verses with predictions of punishment and vengeful justice on the rich. Although they concentrated on what they believed to be the illegitimate accumulation of wealth, the poets did not ignore the millionaires' often extravagant life-styles.[35]

In the socialist critique of early twentieth-century capitalism, the state existed only to protect and encourage the private accumulation of capital. As a result, many socialist poets wrote their satires to popular patriotic music. The patriotic hymn, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," known in Canada as the British anthem "God Save the Queen", provided the framework for an attack on John D. Rockefeller in Vancouver, B.C.'s **Western Clarion**. In a representative style, Rockefeller was portrayed as a cunning robber baron whose sole life's mission was to accumulate more and more wealth.

> My country 'tis of thee,
> My private property,
> Of thee, I sing.
> Land where the millions toil
> In serfdom on my soil,
> That out of Standard Oil,
> I wealth may wring.
>
> My native villainy
> Is what enables me
> To make my pile.
> I have the rocks and rills
> Of oil, my barrel fills
> With gold and bonds and bills
> That's why I smile.[36]

It was common practice to use Biblical themes to expose the least desirable qualities in the millionaires. The poets suggested that earthly avarice would have to be explained and justified in the after-life. It was a rare occasion when working-class poets did not place these millionaires at least once in front of St. Peter at the Golden Gate of Heaven.[37]

Most Canadian industrial and financial entrepreneurs escaped the serious poetic examination accorded their American colleagues, although Canada had produced a millionaire class among whom the most prominent were railroader Donald Smith, brewer John Molson, shipping magnate Sir Hugh Allan, real estate guru George Stephen and industrial entrepreneur and speculator Sir Allan MacNab.[38] In Canada, the poets attacked primarily corporate villains, specifically the Canadian Pacific Railway, as opposed to the

American poets who did not distinguish between corporate and individual exploiters. In the Canadian labour press, only Toronto's Massey Family who manufactured farm implements received personal poetic attention.[39]

In the late Victorian period, working-class poets focused not only on the personalities and businesses accused of exploiting labour but on the attributes that became the trademarks of their class and the dominant culture. The words "rich", "mammon", "trust" and "monopoly" became synonymous with class exploitation, as did the individual names of Morgan, Carnegie, Vanderbilt, Gould and Massey. The poets portrayed a world that degraded those persons who valued honesty, frugality and a faith in their fellow human beings. They wrote of a working class subjugated into a threadbare existence which was the product of the aggressive and immoral wealth expropriation by the rich. As a result, working-class writers devalued every moral and social standard advocated by the wealthy. When they attacked millionaires, their poetry reflected their bitterness, their sense of deprivation and their hatred of social institutions that remained consistent throughout the Victorian period.[40]

The working-class poets who condemned monopolistic practices frequently capitalized the word "Monopoly". Since only deities normally received this literary treatment in the labour press, the practice suggests that the poets equated the power of monopoly to that of a malevolent god. The theme appears in the early 1880s in a poem composed for Eugene Donovan's Toronto Knights of Labor journal the **Trades Union Advocate**. A Toronto baker dedicated his poem to "Old Monopoly".

How Old Monopoly struts along!
See! the demon's in his eye!
He cares not for the hungry poor,
He heedeth not their cry.

He is a brazen looking wretch.
Though he is dressed in style;
You can see the demon wickedness
Leer through His cunning guile.[41]

Most working-class poets treated monopoly as a satanic social force. They regarded it as the most sadistic and psychologically-destructive form of economic and social control. Monopoly not only killed and maimed workers, it enjoyed the exercise. The poets told their audiences that monopoly had an insatiable appetite.[42]

The millionaire and the monopolist, founders and managers of the trust and giant corporation, were an obvious and convenient target for working-class poets. The villains chose ostentatious and often public life styles, complete with large homes filled with servants and valuable artifacts. They lived in stark contrast with working people who crowded into Canada's industrial centres. While they consumed fine foods, their workers subsisted on wages paid for ten-hour days stretched over six-day weeks. While millionaires wore fine imported silks and cottons, working people struggled to earn enough to afford a coarse-wool coat to protect themselves in Canada's cold winters. The poets categorized these disparities as symptoms of capitalism's injustices. They wanted to exploit them to further their attempts to forge a cohesive working-class consciousness in opposition to the values of the dominant culture.

It would be mistaken to claim that vilification of the wealthy provided working-class writers with their sole source of inspiration in their aspiration to develop a class-based ideology. They were equally concerned with reaching those in their own ranks whom they believed broke the protocol which governed working-class behaviours. In particular, they directed their attention to those whom they felt "were breaking the ranks."

BREAKING THE RANKS

The poets encouraged unorganized workers to form trades unions and union labourers were constantly reminded that only their unions could provide them with any form of security in a constantly fluctuating economic environment. The poets also recognized that once a trades union was organized, it faced opposition not only from members of the dominant culture but from some within its own ranks.[43] By the time that Phillips Thompson began publishing the **Labor Advocate** in 1890, trades union leaders were beginning to complain publicly that a fair number of their members were refusing to volunteer for union positions, leaving most administrative tasks to the elected leadership. This is the theme of the poem "Who Killed The Lodge," published in Winnipeg's **The Voice**.

> Thus one and another made excuse,
> And said as long as they paid their dues
> And assessments promptly they couldn't see
> What the difference was if they should be
> Away from the Lodge room on meeting night,
> And argued to prove that they were right
> In staying at home from the meeting.[44]

Those unwilling to comply with calls for working-class unity were given a variety of labels, including "The Kicker", "The Knocker", or "The Scab". Of these, the poets regarded the scab as the worst. The kicker or the knocker occupied second place, followed by those who acted without premeditated malice in their anti-union activities. The poets often discussed imperfections in those who claimed to be staunch union people. They regularly wrote that if one were a true unionist, one was obliged to respect all aspects of union life.[45]

In the Victorian industrial world, scabbing was regarded as a class crime more reprehensible than those committed by monopolists and millionaires whose crimes were explainable by the social, economic and political positions they occupied. In contrast, scabbing was carried out by working people prepared to subordinate class considerations for financial gain. In an age where enemies became easily identifiable, working-class poets regularly asked "Where Do You Stand?".

> The time has come for the throwing aside
> Of the mask and pretext 'neath which men hide.
> There's a conflict on, and year by year
> The lines of cleavage become more clear.
> There's a conflict on between the ones
> Who don't love freedom and the ones who do.
> And this question is coming straight home to
> you;
> When you stop hedging and show your hand,
> Where Do you Stand?[46]

Thus, the poets reduced class issues to a conflict between those supporting working-class issues and those joined together to oppose them. The issues appearing in the poems in the labour journals did not stop at pointing out the economic and social conflicts between only the rich and poor. For the working-class poets, industrial society was producing an enemy encompassing members of their own class as well as the wealthy financial and industrial overlords. Their suspicion of popular institutions - in particular, organized political parties - represented a feeling of alienation from the very core of the society in which they worked and existed.

UNITED WE STAND - DIVIDED WE VOTE

One of the major issues which trades unions debated was the call for direct political action. While a number of prominent unionists had been elected to legislative chambers, including Ontario organizer Daniel O'Donoghue, Montréal printer Auguste Lepine, Trades and Labour Congress president Ralph Smith, and Winnipeg labour journalist Arthur Puttee, some labour leaders suggested that working-class Canadians had little to show for their alliances with the Liberal and Conservative political parties. The problem of presenting a common front in opposition to Canada's dominant culture became the subject for a number of poems. Verses published in the 1880s and 1890s did not question partisanship to the same degree as those composed after 1900. In the Victorian period, working-class poets regularly criticized the political process and members of all parties who refused to embrace working-class issues. As a result, the poets encouraged eligible working-class voters to exercise their franchises to articulate working-class concerns and ensure the election of sympathizers regardless of party labels.

The hodman who wrote to Donovan's **Trades Union Advocate** warned working-class voters to be suspicious of clever politicians seeking votes. He believed that they would agree to labour issues, only to forget after the election.

> I am a humble hodman,
> Of famed Toronto city;
> And I can play my fiddle, sir
> And sing my little ditty.
>
> And I can talk a little, sir
> Upon the Labour question;
> "Talk Politics?", of course I can
> If it is to your suggestion.
>
> I know the politicians well,
> And pending an election,
> They know us horny-handed, too,

And court a close connection.

We're courted and honoured then,
Our hands are duly shaken;
But as soon as they've got our votes,
We're quietly forsaken.

It warns us not to heed the guile,
Of fawning politicians.
Who pander to our vices, sir.
And live on our divisions.[47]

Around the turn of the century, more and more labour journals published poets who described political partisanship as a moral crime. As much as earlier poets sought to expose personal political immorality, twentieth-century rhymers wrote about the corruption prevalent in the whole system. This view was arose in the late 1880s amongst farm activists intent on replacing existing political parties. Eventually, working-class writers adopted their themes. Unlike the agricultural critics however, working-class poets were not optimistic about the acceptance of a reform agenda. They believed that working people were too involved in the party system.[48]

Uncle Toby was the pseudonym used by a poet who accused working people of lacking the will-power to challenge established political institutions.

'Tis the lack of will power that allows
Him, at present, to suffer, oppressed.
When his manhood at last shall arouse,
To the fact that his back needs a rest,
You will then hear no plaints from his throat,
Nor be worried by tales of his woe.
But at present, the Man with the Vote
Is a dupe, like the Man with the Hoe.[49]

J. P. Lawson of Van Anda, British Columbia, told his audience that workers would not find political organizations governed in the democratic spirit of trades unions. He believed that a good union man could not be a party stalwart.

> But, although a union member
> I want you to remember
> In politics it's different
> I will go with those who grab;
> I will join hands with exploiters
> I'll denounce the man who loiters
> I'm a stalwart union member
> I'm a party serving scab.[50]

The poetry and music written about proletarian political attitudes suggests that working-class consciousness never significantly extended beyond the home, lodge or workplace. The solidarity which the poets lauded in their work on the pride of labour, and which appeared in their consistently uniform condemnation of millionaires, monopolists, knockers and scabs, never surfaced in their political poems. Some scholars have suggested that unionists eventually traded political ambition for advanced material gains.[51] This argument may be applicable to the American labour movement, but it has problems fitting Canadian labour history. Certainly, the poetry which dominated the labour press consistently suggested that amelioration from material want was one of the main goals of the labour movement. However, until American-style market unionism became influential in Canada after 1900, economic issues constituted only one of many working-class concerns.

Why then was the working-class unable or unwilling to reach out and transform the very structures which it regarded as oppressive? The poems suggest that while working people wanted to improve their class condition, they were hesitant to step beyond its boundaries. The literary evidence implies that the working class sought to limit the power of others while refusing to consider seriously exercising power itself. Although a minority of the poets wanted to destroy their rulers, the majority was content to define the boundaries of working-class social participation which it linked to the quest for class equality. In spite of being contained within a well-defined class structure, the poets seldom missed an opportunity to preach their belief in eventual working-class emancipation. However, their ideas were contained within clearly articulated lines of authority.

THE WORLD IS MINE

The poets never lost their optimism that someday working people would rise up and take their rightful place in industrial society. However, until socialist poets began to write in the first decade of the twentieth century, most concentrated on the inequality of the division of the products of labour. These poets argued that political as well as economic power had to be more equitably distributed. These ideas were generated from a belief that work was of equal value to entrepreneurialism. Therefore, working-class demands were righteous and it was this righteousness which would eventually insure working-class success.[52]

Jack Plane was the penname used by a carpenter who contributed regularly to Toronto labour journals in the 1880s. He predicted inevitable working-class victory, should class warfare break out over the refusal of the dominant culture to share its wealth. Although he suggested that working people seize political power, he advised workers to remain workers to avoid the corruption inherent in exercising rule.

With a purpose firm united
For the coming fight,
'Gainst giant self, robbing Labour

Of its honest right.

Who will sing it to the masses,
With a purpose true,
That their toiling may be lighter,
And their hearts be, too?[53]

The poets regularly accused working people of not realizing their own potential to demand reforms. Workers were often described as sleeping giants, who once awakened, would be forced to take advantage of their strength. This theme dominated "The Working Man," by Mrs. B. Perkins, a ninety-year poet, published in Stellarton, Nova Scotia's **Trades Journal**.

He wakes from sleep with giant strength,
There's thought upon his brow--
The bonds that bound him burst at length,
Ye cannot crush him now!
There is no power to bar or ban,
Till wealth and pomp shall learn to bow,
To the hand of the workingman.[54]

Socialists and reformers both expressed the conviction that their day was coming. Early socialist poetry gave little or no feeling that working-class emancipation was to be equated with working-class rule as they portrayed a future in which one class would be unable to exploit another. Wilfrid Gribble, a blind, socialist poet from Listowel, Ontario claimed in "The Awakening":

Class rule's long night is soon to end,
Our day is breaking fast,-
The day in which joys shall replace
The mis'ries of the past.
Hail to the light of liberty,
Hail to the Coming Day,
Hail, Sun of Hope, before whose beams
The sorrows flee away.[55]

The poets were forced to address the inevitable impatience expressed in some working-class communities. This was the major reason why most wrote about a predestined labour victory in the class conflict which characterized the period. Working people were constantly reminded that their reform campaigns would be realized at some future time.[56]

It was William Morris, the British socialist, who combined virtually all the themes predicting the inescapable victory of working people over capitalism. Morris claimed that the nineteenth century had provided working people with opportunities for liberty not available before in human history. He predicted that the working class would grasp this opportunity to shake off its servitude and bring a new tolerance in communal human existence to mankind.

> What is this sound and rumor?
> What is this that all men hear?
> Like the wind in hollow valleys
> When the storm is drawing near,
> Like the rolling of the ocean
> In the eventide of fear?
> 'Tis the people marching on!
>
> On we march then, we, the workers,
> And the rumor that we hear
> Is the blended sound of triumphs
> And the deliverance drawing near;
> For the hope of every creature
> Is the banner that we hear.[57]

POSTSCRIPT

The poetry in this study does not deal with the complete scope of subjects discussed by working-class composers. They turned their attention to the illegitimacy of class legislation and Social Darwinism, the objections to compulsory arbitration, the single tax, the sin of child labour, the crudity of urban landlordism, the falsity of organized religion, the need for free and compulsory education, the humanity of socialism and the legitimacy of organization into trades unions.

Canadian labour journals, some more than others, attempted to transform working-class oral culture into a written culture. While simultaneously printing poetry composed in Great Britain and the United States, the labour journalists encouraged would-be writers in their own communities. They wanted them to compose poems and songs which described their feelings about the country, town or city in which they lived and worked. Throughout the years between Confederation and the First World War, the number of poems and songs written by and about working people numbered in the thousands.

Working people across the country shared many alternate visions of their class condition. Poets understood a working person's second-class citizenship and identified those responsible for its creation. Their poetry and music analyzed what was and predicted the inevitability of a better tomorrow. The poets and musicians were part of the labour journalists' conviction that they were in the forefront of a mission to create a universal and cohesive working-class consciousness in opposition to the dominant industrial, capitalist culture.

Almost coincidentally, the poets drew the boundaries within which legitimate class action was allowed to thrive. It was to grow in working-class organizations, such as trades unions, fraternal societies and lodges. In working-class poetry and music, there is a sense of insularity in the Victorian working-class culture determined by an unwillingness or inability to move beyond the borders of a worker's local society. One theme persists throughout this working-class literature, a consistent rejection of the morality of the dominant culture. Even those areas of interest that ruler and ruled supposedly held in common, such as a belief in

God and sobriety, assumed different expressions. The poetry reflected the antagonism in class relationships: there were the good and the bad, the majority and the minority.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, labour journalism significantly reduced its dependence on poetry and music to communicate its vision of class relations. Compulsory education legislation, passed in the late Victorian period, was producing a new generation of working Canadians who could read and write and oral traditions passed quietly into history.

ENDNOTES

1. Philip S. Foner, American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century, (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1975), xi

2. Philip Foner, American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century,(Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1975)

3. Foner, xv

4. E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1963), 782-783

5. One of the more popular poems written by Shelley was called "Song for the Men of England" see Thompson, 790

6. Harold Innis argues this point in the essays in Empire and Communications, (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1987)

7. William Christian (ed.), The Idea File of Harold Adams Innis, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 38

8. Foner, xiv

9. The level of literacy of working people in Victorian Canada is noted in Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority, (Toronto, Buffalo and London: The University of Toronto Press, 1982), 25 and in Report On Compulsory Education in Canada, Great Britain, Germany and the United States, (Printed by Order of the Legislative Assembly, Toronto: Warwick and Songs, OTAR, PAMPH 1891. No. 25). It should be noted that by the early 1880s, most working Canadians possessed some literacy skills, but they were very limited. Certainly, a good poem made much more sense that an essay by one of the period's left-wing intellectuals.

10. Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 34

11. Gutman, 36

12. Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario 1880-1900, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 307

13. Foner, xiv

14. The Bond of Brotherhood was only one of a number of journals which published English working-class poetry. Shelley's advice was published in the Calgary (Alberta), Bond of Brotherhood, 5 June 1903, Volume 1, No. 2. The British Radical poem "The Corn Law Song" was published in the Toronto (Ontario), The Toiler, 15 May 1903,

Volume III, No. 23. Works by Charles Dickens, Algernon Charles Swinburne, John Ruskin, and Alfred Lord Tennyson respectively can be found in these journals: 1)The Vancouver (British Columbia) Independent, 9 May 1903, Fourth Year, Whole Number 163: 2) the Vancouver (British Columbia) BC Trades Unionist And Label Bulletin, September 1908 (Labour Day Edition), Volume III, No. 9: 3) The London (Ontario) Industrial Banner, October 1908, Sixteenth Year, No. 11 and 4) The Vancouver (British Columbia) Independent, 27 December 1902, Volume 6, No. 14

15. Good examples can be found in the following journals: 1). The Hamilton (Ontario) People's Journal, 19 February 1870, Volume 1, No. 16 2). The Toronto (Ontario) Ontario Workman, 20 June 1872, Volume 1, No. 10; 1 August 1872, Volume 1, No. 16 and 6 February 1873, Volume 1, No. 43. Since the Ontario Workman was only major English-language labour journal which survived from the 1870s, I have concluded that this attitude reflected the view of the editors and not the small but growing labour movement.

16. Evidence can be found in the Toronto (Ontario) Commonwealth, 5 August 1880, Volume 1, No. 3 and the Toronto (Ontario) Trades Union Advocate, 19 October 1882, Volume 1, No. 25

17. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, 12 October 1884, Volume II, No. 35 and Toronto (Ontario) Canadian Labor Reformer, 23 April 1887, Volume 1, No. 50

18. A small example was published in Québec (Québec) L'Artisan, 6 Février 1888. In "La Noblesse Du Travailleur", the poet P.D. describes

> Humble soldat de l'industrie,
> Je ne porte pas de blason;
> Gagner honnêtement ma vie
> Est mon unique ambition.

19. Toronto (Ontario) Labor Advocate, 19 December 1890, Volume 1, No. 3

20. London (Ontario) Canada Farmer's Sun, 20 November 1895, Volume 1, No. 7. Era of Brotherhood was an insert in this journal.

21. See Charlotte Perkins Stetson's poem, "To Labour," published in the Rossland (British Columbia) Rossland Industrial World, 24 November 1900, Volume 2, No. 25

22. Toronto (Ontario), Citizen and Country, 20 July 1900, Volume 3, No. 11, Whole Number 111

23. A good example is Burt A. Judd's "The Man Behind The Pick," which was published in the Ferguson (British Columbia) Lardeau Eagle, 7 November 1901, Volume III, No. 39

24. See the tribute by Winnipeg poet "Stonehenge," published in Winnipeg Manitoba, The Voice, 3 January 1902, Volume III, No. 30

25. This idea was suggested by Caroline A. Lord in her "A Song of Street Labor," published in the Vancouver (British Columbia) Western Clarion, 21 October 1905, No. 343

26. Cowansville (Québec) Cotton's Weekly, 9 September 1909, Volume XXXVIII, No. 52

27. Cowansville (Québec), Cotton's Weekly, 24 December 1908, Volume XXXVIII, No. 15

28. Toronto (Ontario), Ontario Workman, 15 August 1872, Volume 1, No. 18

29. Toronto (Ontario), The Wage Worker, 15 March 1883, Volume 1, No. 46

30. Hamilton (Ontario), Palladium of Labor, 5 January 1884, Volume 1, No. 54

31. Toronto (Ontario), Canadian Labor Reformer, 3 July 1886, Volume 1, No. 8

32. Sandon (British Columbia, Sandon Paystreak, 23 August 1902, Book IV

33. Toronto (Ontario), The Tribune, 16 September 1905, Volume 1, No. 2. Other good contrasting examples can be found in Toronto (Ontario), The Toiler, 19 February 1904, Volume IV, No. 11 and Victoria (British Columbia), The Week, 7 January 1905, Volume 1, No. 51

34. Hamilton (Ontario), Palladium of Labor, *10 April 1886, Fourth* Year, No. 13

35. Vancouver (British Columbia), Western Clarion, 27 May 1905, No. 322

36. Vancouver (British Columbia), Western Clarion, 17 June 1905, No. 325

37. Sandon (British Columbia), Sandon Paystreak, 9 August 1902, Book IV

38. The careers of Canada's most influential millionaires in the Victorian and Edwardian period are described in Tom Naylor's The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914, (Vols. 1&2, Toronto, Ontario: James Lorimer and Company, Publishers, 1975):

39. Toronto (Ontario), The Toiler, 29 January 1904, Volume IV, No. 8

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